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XVII



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THE HISTORY OF COMINES

ENGLISHED BY
THOMAS DANETT

ANNO 1596

With an Introduction by
CHARLES WHIBLEY

VOLUME I



LONDON

Published by DAVID NUTT
IN THE STRAND

1897

39653
27/8/97

Edinburgh : T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to Her Majesty

TO
E. B. IWAN-MÜLLER
THIS HISTORIC
AND TRIUMPHING EXAMPLE
OF THE
POLITICIAN DISPLAYED



INTRODUCTION



PHILIPPE DE COMINES was born in 1445 Philippe de Comines
at the Flemish town whence he derived
his name. His father, Collart de la Clite,
the younger son of the noblest house in
Flanders, had already proved himself a
valiant warrior and prudent statesman, so

that it was foreordained that Philippe should enter, at the earliest moment, into the service of the Duke. Gifted with A Burgundian
a superhuman discretion, and a perfect sense of his own
advantage, he made an early conquest of prosperity, and he
was no more than eighteen when he was advanced to a posi-
tion of trust about the Duke's person. He accompanied
the Earl of Charolais throughout the ill-omened war of
the Public Weal, and at the death of Philippe le Bon he
transferred a reluctant obedience to Charles, his son. But,
under the young Duke, Comines found no scope for his
adroit and diplomatic talent. He was not of those who are
driven into acquiescence by a bold and reckless temperament.
Not only did he foresee with many another noble of Flanders
the inevitable ruin of Charles le Temeraire: he despised
the brutal methods of the Duke as bitterly as he resented
the superb intolerance of his behaviour. Charles, indeed,

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- was incapable of attaching friendship or of guarding loyalty.
DUCTION Generous and insolent by turns, he speedily alienated all those whom the new ambition of policy had inspired to cunning; and Philippe de Comines was not slow in shaking off the fetter which trammelled his talent.

Changes
Service

An embassy had already made him acquainted with Louis XI., and it was with complete deliberation that, in 1472, he changed his allegiance. The Duke most justly stripped him of his inheritance, and the partisans of Burgundy were not backward in denunciation of the renegade. But Comines is easily absolved from the charge of treachery. If he were the vassal of Burgundy, he was also the subject of France; in deserting the master for the overlord, he transgressed none of the rules which govern the conduct of gentlemen. He recognised that in Flanders he would be ground to powder under the iron heel of a dying chivalry; he knew that at the Court of France he would find a proper scope for those qualities which have given him immortality. And it was nothing more than an honourable prudence which induced him to sell his talent not in the highest but in the most convenient market. The King, with a generosity which was half foresight, did not permit his servant to suffer by the exchange; and if Comines was stripped of his Flemish possessions, he instantly became lord of Argenton, of Talmont, of Curzon, and many another rich domain. He married, in the year that he transferred his service, Hélène de Chambes, Dame de Montsoreau, and through his daughter was the ancestor of three illustrious kings. Throughout the reign of Louis XI. his history is the history of France; if his intelligence prevented his

His Reward

Marriage

PHILIP DE COMMINES

advancement to the highest offices, it encouraged the intimate regard and intimacy of the King; and as he served his master faithfully throughout his life, so he watched the unwilling breath depart his body, and lived to indite his most loyal panegyric.

But, at the death of Louis, envy and malice overtook the favourite. Not only was he chased from the Court 'with rough and discourteous words,' but he spent eight months in the harsh dungeon at Loches, whose cruelty to others he had often chronicled. And with that perfect dignity, which is the ornament of the historian, he permits a gap in the narrative to tell the disaster of which he was too proud to complain. Now, the citadel of Loches is a city within a city, a fortress wrapt round with yet another fortress. But it looks out upon the fairest plain of France, and the grandeur of its aspect is but an accent upon the cruelty of its ancient discipline. To-day it remains a monument to the power and implacability of the fifteenth century. Its cages and *oubliettes* attest the ferocity which governed tyrants, when tyranny was a divine right. From his narrow cell at Loches, Comines gazed upon the larger air he might no longer enjoy. Unable to walk more than two bent paces, he was forced to reflect upon the faithful service he had rendered his master; and so strange was he to ill-nature, that he remained faithful to his ideal of kingship. Rumour has it that he scratched upon the wall of his cell this legend:—*Dixisse me aliquando pœnituit, tacuisse nunquam*. But rumour is a careless guide, and no doubt the inscription was the work of a more learned and less subtle statesman than Philippe de Comines.

INTRO-
DUCTION

Fall and
Imprison-
ment

Loches

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- DUCTION	While imprisonment crippled his talent for intrigue, his wife moved heaven and earth for her husband's enlargement, and at last won him permission to plead his cause in Paris, where disgrace forbade him to find an advocate. But he was not one to fail for lack of eloquence, and so well did he defend himself—though his service needed no embellishment—that he found not only freedom but an honourable employ. He attended Charles VIII. in his journey to Italy, and faithfully recorded the triumphs and failures of the expedition. He was no less resolute in his devotion to the King who had imprisoned him in a loathsome dungeon than to the King who had advanced him to be his chamberlain. But the journey to Italy was his last exploit; the remaining years of his life were devoted to an honourable leisure and the composition of his <i>Mémoires</i> ; and when he died—in 1509—he was not only the father-in-law of René de Bretagne, Comte de Penthievre, Vicomte de Bridiers, Sieur de Boussac, but the foremost historian of France to boot.
The Manner of his Release	
In Italy	
Death	
The Man in his Book	A statesman and man of letters, he was yet so little of an egoist that he left no record of his person and disposition. His book remains to attest his genius, his actions are part of French history. But, if we would gain a knowledge of himself, we are driven perforce to anecdote and report. Surely his modesty is unparalleled: a man of action, who had a perfect command of his pen, he was yet artist enough to understand that the central figure of his history was not himself, but his King. Of opinions he is prodigal: he is prepared to invent a whole system of government, but upon the character and attainments of Philippe de Comines he is strenuously silent. And this well-intentioned silence

PHILIP DE COMMINES

was broken by so few of his contemporaries, that we know less of him than we know of Plutarch, of Livy, or of Polybius, to the last of whom a later age most diligently compared him. But in a brief half-century his qualities were frozen into a legend, and all his biographers have precisely the same tale to tell. Jean Sleidan is our earliest and most trustworthy authority, and his statements have been echoed by a long line of translators and commentators. Whether or no the description be accurate it is impossible to discover; but, since it does not contradict the slight sketch which may be drawn from the *Mémoires*—since, moreover, it is the consistent portrait of a blameless official,—it may be accepted for truth in default of a better.

Philippe de Comines, then, was of tall stature and a goodly person, fit by his courage for any enterprise, and by reason of his prudence foremost in the council of his King. Though he was a man of affairs rather than of letters, he was educated above the habit of his time. He had a perfect command of Italian, German, and Spanish, while he never betrayed his Flemish origin by a faulty pronunciation of French. His active memory was richly stored with the histories of the past, and, if it was his lifelong regret that he had no Latin, his own policy was founded upon the example of the Romans. Above all he abhorred idleness; and so fierce was his energy that he could, after the fashion of Cæsar, dictate to four secretaries at a time. But he was neither bookworm nor pedant, and he learned most of all from the discourse of others, especially of such as were of a foreign nation. Two mottoes, says the gossiping biographer, governed his life. In prosperity he would murmur

INTRO-
DUCTION

Legend

Anecdote and
Report

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- DUCTION

this text against idleness:—‘He that will not work, neither let him eat’; while he would solace adversity with this pious reflection:—‘I sailed into the deep of the sea, and a sudden tempest o’erwhelmed me.’ These indications of character are slight enough, for Sleidan gathered only such anecdotes as were authentic, and as seemed, in the judgment of a friend, to illumine a distinguished career. It

Authorities

was Matthieu d’Arras, wrote Sleidan in 1548, a man of great honesty and knowledge, who furnished the meagre details. And Matthieu d’Arras, an aged citizen of Chartres, had known Comines in his youth, and had even been chosen to instruct his grandson, the Duke d’Estampes.

In Portraiture

There remain the portraits, which show us a quick-eyed, sharp-nosed, strong-jawed, prim politician, who measures his own ambition, and knows well how he shall attain it.

In the *Mémoires*

But it is his book which gives the best measure of the man, whose temperate zeal was plainly at variance with his age. It was his fortune to chronicle the decline of savagery, and the savagery of the Fifteenth Century declined in a prolonged access of fury. Louis XI., discovering a miscreant, hired to poison him, not only had him hanged, flayed, drawn, and quartered, but ordered that the house wherein he was born should be burned to the ground. When Villon sang, and mankind was preparing for the joyous destructiveness of Rabelais, the world was a prison, and vengeance his privilege who could take it; yet Philippe de Comines was as humane as the ancients, almost as wise as Tacitus himself. He witnessed—perhaps approved—the callous slaughter of whole cities, and was still a gentleman and a man of the world; the supreme folly of Charles the Bold moved him to no more

PHILIP DE COMMINES

INTRO-
DUCTION

than a grave regret; his own demeanour was so constantly serene that he endured a miserable imprisonment without chagrin, and with scarce a word of protest. His imperturbability is beyond belief, but it was derived less from lack of feeling than from a perfect sense of history.

His theme is the superiority of intelligence over brute force, the triumph of astute policy over a chivalry already moribund. The contrast was ready to his hand, and might have been invented with dramatic intent, but never once does he allow his subject to override his judgment. Despite his inevitable preoccupation, he remains until the end the same philosophic, impartial historian. Ambition as Historian ✓

Though he sets out as the panegyrist of Louis XI., though he left the service of Burgundy because he could not approve the tactics of the Duke, he never depresses the scales to one side or the other. Again and again he praises the great qualities of Charles the Bold, condemning only his lack of wit. ‘Undoubtedly,’ he wrote of the man who was once his master, ‘he was endued with many goodly virtues: ‘for never was Prince more desirous to entertain noble men, ‘and to keep them in good order than he. His liberalitie ‘seemed not great, because he made all men partakers ‘thereof. Never Prince gave audience more willingly to his ‘servants and subjects than he. While I served him he was ‘not cruel, but grew marvellous cruel towards his end: which ‘was a sign of short life. In his apparell and all other kind ‘of furniture he was woonderfull pompous, yet somewhat too ‘excessive. He received very honorably all ambassadors and ‘strangers, feasting them sumptuously, and entertaining them ‘with great solemnitie. Covetous he was of glorie, which was

Charles the Bold

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO-
DUCTION ‘ the chiefe cause that made him moove so many wars : for he
‘ desired to imitate those ancient Princes, whose fame con-
‘ tinueth till this present. Lastly, hardy was he and valiant,
‘ as any man that lived in his time : but all his great enter-
‘ prises and attempts ended with him selfe, and turned to his
‘ own losse and dishonor ; for the honor goeth ever with the
‘ victorie.’ Thus, with perfect justice, he appreciates the
enemy of the King, his master, glosing his violence, and
detecting in his pride a noble generosity. He achieved even
more than this : a French historian, he dared to applaud
Edward iv. the English, and to declare that Edward iv. was the hand-
somest and most munificent prince that ever he had seen.

His justice is the more astonishing, because, for the
most part, he describes events whereof he was a witness.
Now, for the historian who depends rather upon documents
than upon experience, a show of impartiality is the most
Serene
Impartiality obvious virtue. But a writer who records that which he saw
is tempted either to regard himself as the central point of
the universe, or to exaggerate his chosen hero into a fan-
tastic deity. Comines avoided both the one and the other
temptation. Had he been so minded he might have com-
posed a private journal ; he might have revealed his own
pleasures and his own ambitions ; he might even, with a
half-justified vanity, have proclaimed himself the saviour
of his country, and taken unto himself the credit of the
King’s wisdom. But he did none of these things : he
seems to have interpreted the historian’s duty so strictly
that he would seldom embellish his recital with picturesque
or romantic details. In truth, his *Mémoires*, save only where
Louis xi. is concerned, are lacking in that personal quality

PHILIP DE COMMINES

which his knowledge and resource might have imparted. INTRO-
DUCTION
And this defect is the more to be regretted, because, not Humour
only did he possess a sense of humour, as is proved by the Humour
account of the ill-starred battle of Montlhéry, wherein either
side was so bitterly attacked by fear that it retired as far as
possible from its opponent, but he was also quick to see
whatever was beautiful in art or nature. His picture of Vision
Venice—‘the most triumphant city that ever I saw’—is
a masterpiece, drawn from the life with all the enthusiasm
of an artist, to whom strange sounds and fresh sights are an
enduring pleasure.

But his reticence and severity are instantly explained Philosophy ✓
when you remember that, after the glorification of Louis XI.,
the object of his book was the exposition of a political philosophy
philosophy. He lived at a moment when all the world
was busied with brand-new theories of statecraft. It is not Machiavelli
recorded that he and Machiavelli ever met; but he spent
two years in Italy, and it is certain that he knew by report
the author of *The Prince*, who was then making his entry
into public life. At any rate, it is an undesigned coincidence
that, though the careers of these two philosophers overlapped,
their works had no point of contact. Comines died in
1509; his *Mémoires* were published in 1523. Yet it was in
1513 that Machiavelli wrote his *Prince*; and, though Nifo’s
perversion of that work saw the light in the same year as
Comines’s *Mémoires*, it was not printed in its exact form
until nine years later. However, these are puzzles which it
is impossible to resolve; it is enough to note that Machia-
velli and Comines were engrossed at the same epoch in a
similar speculation.

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- DUCTION

The Purpose,
Deity, and
Teaching of
the *Mémoires*

‘I perswade my selfe,’ wrote Comines in his Third Book, ‘that rude and simple men will not busie their braines about the reading of this historie: but Princes and Courtiers shall finde in it good lessons and advertisements in mine opinion.’ So it was composed for the better fashioning of the Perfect Prince. In Comines’s cosmogony God comes first: an overruling Providence, a superior Louis XI., whose first interest is the career of Princes, and whose treatment of meaner mortals is controlled by the same cunning which was the peculiar glory of the King of France. According to the historian there is no event wherein this strange Deity does not profess a close and partial interest. In one passage he explains with what eloquence he may the value of archers to an army; and straightway declares, as if to discount his own wisdom, that ‘God shows battles are in his hand.’ Literature does not afford a stranger mixture of simple faith and cunning forethought. Not only does he permit his Providence to play the part of an Ancient Chorus, but he constantly interrupts his narrative with astounding digressions, in which with God’s guidance the true Philippe de Comines reveals himself. His philosophy is the philosophy of prudence and of the world. For the narrow morality of modern times he knows neither respect nor tolerance. ‘It is not to be held for counsel, that is given after dinner,’ says he, in anticipated contradiction to Prince Bismarck, and merely because he is thinking of his own experience. The master quality in his eyes is wisdom:—*J’aimerais mieux vivre sous les sages que sous les fols*, says he, because there are many ways to avoid the displeasure of the wise and to recover their lost favour, but

PHILIP DE COMMINES

with the ignorant a man can devise no shift. Wherefore he left the service of Burgundy for the more intelligent diplomacy of France. INTRODUCTION

Though he never formulates his theory, it is possible to deduce from his pages a consistent policy. He regards a Prince as a strange beast, who is not ruled by the common impulses, nor restrained by the common code. So, for the guidance of this megatherium, he would devise, under God's providence, a particular morality. Upon one point his judgment never wavers:—'Two Princes,' he writes, 'that desire to continue in friendship ought never to come together, but to employ vertuous and wise men between them, who will encrease their amitie, and repaire all such breaches as shall happen.' Thus he strikes the note in the First Book; and he plays the same tune with variations until the end. It is only when youth and hot blood persuade two Princes to share their pleasures that he would permit an interview. Afterwards, it is plain that their sole ambition is to encroach one upon the other, and this ambition converts every meeting into a danger. He has at his finger-ends a hundred instances to persuade the doubtful, and he resumes the question in his most adroit and characteristic passage:—'Wherefore we thinke that two great Princes ought never to meet together. The occasions of troubles that arise at these assemblies are these: their servants cannot refraine from talking of matters past, and words will easily be taken in evill part. Secondly, it is impossible but that the traine of the one should be in better order than the other, whereof scoffes arise, which they that are scoffed stomacke. Thirdly, if they be two

Theory of
Friendship
between
Sovereigns

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- ' nations, their language and apparell differ, and that that
DUCTION ' pleaseth the one, displeaseth the other. Last of all, it
' commonly hapneth that the personage of the one Prince is
' comlier and better to be liked than the other; wherefore
' he is praised, and rejoiceth and glorieth to heare his owne
' commendation, which cannot be without the dispraise of
' the other. And notwithstanding that three or fower daies
' peradventure after the assembly ended these matters be
' communed of covertly and closely in men's eares: yet by
' use they fall in time in open talke at dinners and suppers,
' and so are reported to both the parties, for fewe things in
' this world can be concealed, especially tales and reports.'

Concerning
Ambassadors
and the
Reception
thereof

Cynical as are the vanity and distrust, they are firmly established upon princely, if not upon human, nature. Moreover, the argument gives Comines an occasion to enlarge upon the virtue of prudent ambassadors. Here, doubtless, is a suspicion of egotism. The historian, proud before all things of his diplomacy, remembers the triumphs of policy he might have won, had he been allowed. The King, however, whose distrust of Comines was at least as great as his affection for him, preferred to employ humbler and less intelligent instruments, and Olivier le Mauvais was better to his purpose than the Sieur d'Argenton. But Comines was ready with a complete theory of ambassadors, even more cynical in effect than the distrust wherewith he would separate Princes. At the outset, he would discourage embassies altogether, well knowing their danger to states, whose amity is but short. Yet, if the presence of an ambassador be imperative, he would have him well received in peace or war. A Prince, should he be of a comely presence,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

INTRO- DUCTION

must himself give audience to the emissary of a neighbouring state. (And if a Prince be not comely, the less he be seen of men the better.) The emissary, moreover, should be well lodged and laden with presents, and surrounded by persons of great honour and respect, not only with the hope of a profitable flattery, but that he should be guarded against the approach of light-headed discontents, who might betray the realm. But, audience once given, the enemy's messenger should be despatched with all possible speed, for it is a perilous matter for a Prince to harbour in his house the plotter of his own destruction. On the other hand, no country may lag behind the zeal of its enemy:—'For one ambassador they send to you, send you two to them: and though they be weary of your ambassadors, and forbid any more to come, yet send still.' However, the interchange and entertainment of public embassies were methods of policy too simple for a courtier bred in the diplomatic school of Louis XI., and, while Comines recognised the necessity of such demonstrations, he trusted rather to the secret service of spies. 'A wise Prince,' he declares with a perfect trust in the code of his epoch, 'must always endeavor to have some secret friend or friends about his enemie, and beware as neere as he may (for in such cases men cannot always do as they would) that his enemie have not the like about him.' And, as for the ambassador himself, he would have him a mild and simple man who should obey his master's behests without scruple of his own opinion, and accept the fury of a hostile monarch uncomplaining.

Thus he expounds his political theory, still convinced that a King in his essence is superhuman. Once he con-

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- DUCTION

The Perfect
Follower of
the Perfect
Prince

fesses, with a sort of chagrin, that 'men they are as we be'; yet elsewhere he asserts that, Princes imaginations being strange, it is idle for common men to prate of them as though they understood. He would urge every statesman to be properly subservient: he never yet knew a man who achieved success by keeping his master in fear or subjection. His argument is based always and openly upon self-interest. He worships victory however it be attained; and he urges learning upon all men, because learning is folly's strongest antidote. Before all created things, Princes have need of knowledge, for since their experience is curt, they can guide their conduct only by the example of the past. Despite his admiration of authority he is fierce in his denunciation of a stupid King. 'Thinke you,' he asks in a rare passage of indignation, 'thinke you that God hath established 'the office of a King or Prince to be executed by such 'beasts as glorie in saying: I am no scholer, I trust my 'Councell well ynough, and refer all matters to them, and 'so without further answer depart to their sports and 'pastimes?' Moreover, he would encourage suspicion as the better part of wisdom. He holds that it is no shame that a King should keep an eye upon those that pass to and fro, but a great shame to be deceived and undone through unpardonable folly. But he would hedge even this opinion, regarding a Prince that never was deceived as a beast, who understandeth not the difference between good and evil. And, with all his praise of valour and armaments, he distrusts the efficacy of war, which may be too easily begun, and may only be ended by the contrivance of the subtlest treaties.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Nor does the protest of Princes avail, for it is God, the greatest of all Kings, that holds the scales of destiny, which He declines, when He will, upon the side of war. Now wars and divisions, says Comines, are permitted of God for the chastisement of Princes and evil people. To every state is appointed its proper prick or sting—to France England, to England the Scots, to Spain Portugal. And these stings are very necessary for the furtherance of morality and the support of wisdom, since even Kings are assailed by misery and wickedness. ‘I knew this mightie King (Louis XI.),’ writes Comines in his tragic epilogue, ‘and served him in the flower of his age, and in his great prosperity; yet never saw I him free from toile of bodie, and trouble of mind’; so that the conclusion of his work is vanity and disappointment. Travail and distress are the inheritance of sovereignty; misery dogs the footsteps of success; and neither Louis nor Charles the Bold knew, after they came to man’s estate, more than a few broken days of pleasure. The *Envoy* of the Sixth Book, whereat the author should have stayed his hand, is nothing less than a pious lament. Here is an end of philosophy and cynicism; here is a frank confession that the highest policy is but a delusion. The great personages, that toiled so mightily, and purchased honour at the price of immitigable sorrow, shortened their lives and, peradventure, imperilled their souls. And for what? For the brief and thankless renown of an empty day. And thus he cannot refrain from adorning his tale with a piteous reflection. ‘What goodlier examples can we finde,’ he says in effect, ‘to teach us that man is but a shadow, that our life is miserable and short, that we are

INTRO-
DUCTION

Concerning
God in
Politics and
the Affairs of
Princes

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- ' nothing, neither great nor small? For immediately after
DUCTION ' our death all men abhorre and loathe our bodies, and so
' soone as the soule is severed from the body, it goeth to
' reeeive judgment; yea, undoubtedly at the very moment
' that the soule and body part, the judgment of God is
' given according to our merits and deserts, which is called
' the particular judgment of God.'

Manner and
Style

No less remarkable than his Machiavellian policy are the temperance and accuracy of his narrative. Only one enemy, the Flemish critic, Jaques Meyer ('Esprit aigre' is the comment of Lenglet du Fresnoy),* was found to attack his conclusions; and the sobriety of his judgment equals his consistent and instinctive accuracy. His style is perfectly suited to the matter. Though he wrote as one wholly 'unlettered,' though he delights to remind the reader that he *n'a aucune littérature*, he yet contrived to handle French like a practised historian, and to confine his rhetoric to the digressions he loved so well. Montaigne's appreciation, pencilled in his copy of the book, is as true to-day as when it was written. 'In him you shall find a pleasing-sweet 'and gently-gliding speech,' thus the passage runs in Florio's version, 'fraught with a purely-sincere simplicitie, 'his narration pure and unaffected, and wherein the author's 'unspotted-good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of 'all manner of vanitie or ostentation speaking of himselfe, 'and free from all affection or envie speaking of others: his

* It is to the Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy that we owe the most useful edition of Comines's *Mémoires*, fortified with all the documents and correspondence which can throw light upon the period. It bears this legend upon its title-page:—'A Londres, et se trouve à Paris, chez Rollin, fils, Quai des Augustins. 1747.'

PHILIP DE COMMINES

‘ discourses and perswasions, accompanied more with a well-
 ‘ meaning zeale, and meere veritie, than with any laboured
 ‘ and exquisit sufficiencie, and all through, with gravitie and
 ‘ authoritie, representing a man well-borne, and brought up
 ‘ in high negotiations.’

INTRO-
 DUCTION

Indeed, he never lacked praise, and his work was no sooner Fame
 published than it became a classic. Even before it got into
 print, it had become, as he wished, the handbook of Princes.
 The Emperor Charles the Fifth carried it about with him Charles v.
 continually, and Francis the First of France esteemed it so Francis I.
 highly that he was bitterly displeased by its publication,
 esteeming it the property not of the world but of reigning
 monarchs. *Dignus omnibus Alexandris hic Philippus*:—thus
 Justus Lipsius, and the panegyric was echoed by a hundred Lipsius
 writers. No less a poet than Pierre Ronsard wrote his epitaph, Ronsard
 in the form of a dialogue between *le Passant* and *le Prêtre*,
 wherein History and Truth deplore the death of a writer
 who surpassed the Patavinian himself:—

‘ pour sçavoir égaler
 La vérité du fait avec le beau parler.’

So to a chorus of approval he passed through many
 editions. The first—(‘Achevé dimprimer le xxvi^e jour de The *Princeps*
 avril mil cinq cens xxiii pour Galliot du Pré’)—contained
 but the first Six Books, and it was not until five years later
 that the expedition to Italy was added. The addition
 was an artistic mistake; for, with the death of Louis XI.
 and the consequent morality, the history as designed by
 Comines comes to an end. The author led up to his
 climax of misery and regret with the greatest skill, and,
 xxiii

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- for all his professed indifference to the result, set a seal
DUCTION upon his work with his concluding homily. The last two Books, therefore, must be regarded as an afterthought, or as the fragment of another design. The Dedicatory Epistle addressed to the Archbishop of Vienne establishes the point. 'I send you here a memorial,' writes the author, 'as agreeable to truth as I can possibly call to mind 'of all the acts and doings that I have been privy to, of 'King Louis XI., our master and benefactor, a prince worthy 'of perpetual memory.' Here is no word of Charles VIII., his ill-fated expedition, and his hapless death. Comines declares that he set forth the character and achievements of Louis XI., whom he knew better than any man of his time—that and no more. Meanwhile he frames the modestest judgment of his own performance: he sends his work, all penned in haste, to the Archbishop, hoping that he would find a corner for it in some Latin work. The Archbishop disappointed this plain ambition; but within fifty years Jean Sleidan, by translating the *Mémoires* into Latin, had given Comines the consecration which he so ardently desired; and it is by an ironical destiny that, while the Archbishop and Sleidan and the Latin version are all forgotten, the work of Comines lives in well-nigh every European tongue, and has become part of the world's literature.

In Latin

Motive and
Hero

The drama of Philippe de Comines has but one motive and one hero. The motive is the glory of wisdom, the hero is Louis XI. And Louis is more than the hero of the piece: he is the sole personage who is permitted to play a grand part. The folly of others is but a foil to his

PHILIP DE COMMINES

INTRO- DUCTION

excellences; and as death approached, from which he shrank in horror, you feel that the curtain is falling upon the last act, that the one interesting character leaves the stage. Neither the grace of women nor the joyousness of life interrupts the stern pursuit of war and intrigue. If a princess appear by way of incident, it is because she is compelled to make a treaty or a war with the King of France. Now, Comines understood his Master as profoundly as he revered him. He approached him with the frankness of a Boswell—of a Boswell determined to substitute high policy and craft for the trivialities of private life. He found in the King both virtue and vice, and he made no attempt to belittle the one or to extol the other; he detested flattery as he loathed ignorance, and he solemnly concludes, in defiance of an inveterate superstition, that of all his contemporaries Louis was the least addicted to profligacy. Moreover, the King was well educated for his century and station; even as a child he had studied grammar and logic; above all, he had enriched his mind with a knowledge of history, and knew well how to profit by the examples of the past. His bearing was prudent, yet familiar. Neither proud nor disdainful, he gave audience to whomsoever came into his presence; and while other Princes controlled their conduct by the dying dogmas of chivalry, his perfect acquaintance with his own people and other countries enabled him to establish his policy upon the hard rock of knowledge and experience. His liberality was lavish, if interested; and, if a free and scathing tongue was his worst indiscretion, he was never slow, if it suited him, to repair by an honourable amend the biting offences of

Louis xi.

Policy

Methods

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- his wit. Naturally fearful, he chose to conquer by policy
DUCTION rather than by arms, and he understood, says Comines, the
art of separating allies better than any man that ever lived.
Proud as he was, he would yet humble himself at the call of
Conduct wisdom, for, said he with a shrug, ‘when pride rideth before,
shame and damage follow after.’ Never arrogant in pro-
sperity, he bore adversity with a perfect carriage, and, knowing
when and whom to fear, he was free from the danger of sudden
Character panic. If he loved revenge, and countenanced cruelty, he
resembled therein the most chivalrous of his contemporaries;
and many an act of ferocity, for which he has been reproached,
was but the proper punishment of unpardonable treachery.
His implacable pursuit of the Constable Saint-Pol is not
only intelligible, but easily justified. Saint-Pol had been
the King’s servant and his friend; he had been advanced to
great offices in the state, and magnificently rewarded. Yet
deceit was so frankly manifest in him that, twice forgiven,
he must yet turn traitor a third time on the very day of the
King’s clemency. His death, therefore, was a just punishment.
Just also was the execution of Nemours; and if the cruelty of
his dungeon whitened his hair in three days, if he was carried
to the scaffold hideously racked, he did but pay the same
penalty he would have extorted from his enemy.

Sovranty But so little wanton was the King’s cruelty, that his arduous
life was wholly devoted to the profit of France, and the sup-
port of the kingly ideal. With these ambitions he sur-
rendered the splendour of courts for the pilgrim’s staff, and
changed his reign into a succession of journeys. Michelet
calls him a ‘Révolution en vie’; yet surely this ‘beggar
king’ was the sternest of conservatives, the legitimate fore-

PHILIP DE COMMINES

runner of Louis XIV. He was called to the throne at the very moment when the nobles, proud in the exercise of chivalry, were encroaching upon the sovereign power; and it needed all his strength of purpose and his unwearied energy to confer permanence and distinction upon his office. With a marvellous intelligence he foresaw that he must invent and develop a new power to check the ambition of the cultured bandits, who would have broken France in pieces for a formula; so he turned from the nobles to the cities, chose his instruments from the people, and converted the burgess into an influence.

INTRO-
DUCTION

The True
Citizen-King

With this intent he avoided splendour; and, since it was his wont to symbolise a policy in his costume, the crowning at Reims may be said to represent his reign in little. There he appeared humble and penitent, yet withal contemptuous of the great princes, who came in the glory of their state to do him honour. And it is typical of the sovereign who afterwards employed servants so base as Tristan l'Hermite and Olivier le Dain, that, at the supper which followed the coronation, he laid his crown upon the table, and talked only to Philippe Pot, who was set behind his chair. What sympathy could so grave a statesman feel for the Count of Charolais, who turned the victory of Montlhéry into a defeat, because rather than take advantage of his triumph he still stayed upon the field, throwing down his gauntlet, and crying aloud that he would fight the bravest hero of the retreating army? No, Louis preferred to conciliate the citizens of Paris, to let dissension and folly fight his battles, and to buy, with fresh-coined crowns, an advantage which bravery would not always give. When the English

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO-
DUCTION

came to France, they not only fared sumptuously, but went home with their pockets full of gold pieces. And as he treated the English, so he treated his God: he made Him presents. He was less religious than prudent, and the

His Attitude
to Deity

reward of one victory was a silver image of himself. When news was brought him of Burgundy's death, he vowed, were it true, that the iron lattice which enclosed the reliquary in the Church of St. Martin of Tours should become a lattice of silver. But, on the other hand, he flouted the Pope, and caged the sacred person of a Cardinal. His

Craft

craft equalled his mercenary superstition: there was nothing he loved so well as hostages, and he would pack his house with those whose lives might some day find their value. Yet this craft was never selfishly exercised; and, though he did not scruple on occasion to butcher his enemies, he was never guilty of so preposterous a slaughter as was inspired by the prudish mother of Charles the Bold, and carried out by Charles himself.

The hatred of his enemies was expressed in ill-veiled compliment: the Duke of Burgundy sadly confessed that Louis was always ready, and might have added that he was always ready because he knew how to wait. Even at the end of his long career he was still young, perhaps because he was born old. At any rate the years had but little effect upon this abstract calculation, and he could write to Dammartin, at the zenith of his power, '*nous autres jeunes.*'

Magnitude
and Aims

Not a comely figure, maybe, but a great sovereign: great in wisdom, great also in the ambition of creating a vast empire and of emulating Charlemagne, whom he believed himself to resemble, and whom he would strenuously imitate.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Yet with all his toil, with all his self-denial, he triumphed only at the end, and age was already upon him when he witnessed the success of his vast schemes, and when the author of the *Rosier des Guerres* saw the proper victory of wisdom and statecraft.

INTRO-
DUCTION

His appearance was a vivid index of his character. A Looks
slyness and contempt are mingled in the forceful superiority
of his face. The doggedness which never let him rest is
evident in every feature. But none of the portraits suggests
the niggard temper, which has been a constant and ill-
founded reproach—constant because one historian has echoed
another, ill-founded because he was parsimonious only for
himself. So long as his guard was perfectly equipped, what
mattered it that the King, the friend of the people, went
meanly clad? When he would lavish a fortune upon the
purchase of a province, he could not afford to buy him
a new coat, and it is solemnly recorded that he went every-
where with an empty pocket. The Earl of Lodesme, on a
visit to France, crossed the river in a boat, the sail whereof
was cloth of gold, and his buskins were thick encrusted with
precious stones. And Louis, in the phrase of Danett, ‘wore
‘ his apparell very short, and marvellous uncomely, and was
‘ clad in very coarse cloth, besides that he wore an old hat,
‘ differing from all the rest of his company, and an image of
‘ lead upon it, whereat the Castilians jested, saying that this
‘ proceeded of miserie.’ But that was far from the truth:
it was but Louis’s policy, which persuaded him always to
subordinate his own pleasure to the glory of France.

Reasons for
Thrift

Comines presents his hero as astuteness and energy
made concrete, and there is no reason to believe Comines’s

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- DUCTION

Sir Walter
Scott

The *Cent
Nouvelles
Nouvelles*

As Amorist

As Statesman

judgment at fault, especially as the *Mémoires* receive abundant confirmation. Yet Louis XI. has always been the scarecrow of history, a bogey wherewith to frighten the terrified democrat. For the misappreciation of modern times Sir Walter Scott is largely responsible. The necessity of his romance compelled him to paint the King in the darkest light, to portray him as a master of evil-minded cunning and common debauchery. All the light-hearted sins of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* were freely ascribed to a monarch who gave his life to an intolerable labour, and who spent his leisure in the fearless hunting of the boar. And even this ascription proceeded only from a misunderstanding. There is no doubt that Louis XI. neither told one of the famous stories, nor took part in their libertine pleasantries. The Monseigneur of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* is not the King but Charles of Burgundy; and Mr. Wright,* in a lucid preface, has set the matter at rest for ever. That he was a model of purity, of course, is impossible. The strong men of the Fifteenth Century did not conform their lives to the standard of Exeter Hall. But Comines is precise in the unsolicited vindication of his Master from the charge of profligacy, and prejudice may no longer seize this excuse to belittle a great man.

The charge of political villainy is yet more easily rebuffed. Success, not morality, was the end of Louis's ambition. He was not an egotist working out a private theory of virtue: he was a strong King building up a kingdom. Even if he

* *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, publiées d'après le seul manuscrit connu avec introduction et notes par M. Thomas Wright. Paris: P. Jannet, 1858.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

stooped to steel and poison, he did not infringe the code of his day, and the crime of Guienne's death has never emerged from the uncertainty of suspicion. To say that morality is an affair of latitude is the commonest of common-places; yet it cannot be too often reiterated. Twenty years before the time when Cesare Borgia was discussed not as a criminal but as a politician, Louis XI. was free to employ whatever means his end required. 'On ne voit de juste ou d'injuste qui ne change de qualité en changeant de 'climat,' wrote Pascal; and Pascal lacks not the support of all the ages.* Moreover, when to climate you add the lapse of time, it is evident that you cannot judge the Fifteenth Century by a standard which will presently become obsolete. To hurl the reproach of suspicion at a King who lived surrounded by the spies of his enemies, is the climax of unreason; and if Louis XI. was infamous to assert that that King cannot reign who knows not how to dissemble, then the game of government has never been played with clean hands.

INTRO-
DUCTION

Morality in
Politics

He left France in peace, and marvellously increased her borders — this is the end and substance of Philippe de Comines's legitimate panegyric; and, before the exaggerated contradiction of Louis's character, his steadfast loyalty is the

Achievement

* Lord Acton's Introduction to Mr. Burd's *Il Principe* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1891), where the materials are given for a full discussion of the question. To prove that modern politicians are of the old opinion, Lord Acton quotes Walpole's opinion that 'no great 'country was ever saved by good men, because good men will not 'go the lengths that are necessary,' and Lord Grey's confession to Princess Lieven:—'I am a great lover of morality, public and private; but the intercourse of nations cannot be strictly regulated by that rule.'

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- DUCTION

In the
Chronique
Scandaleuse

more astonishing. But while Comines presents the graver pursuits of his King, the other biography, the so-called *Chronique Scandaleuse*, shows him in his more intimate relation with his own city of Paris. Whoever was the author of this Chronicle,* which never justifies its scandalous title, he was an eye-witness of many events both trivial and important; and, especially, he records those very episodes which the graver historian is apt to pass over in silence. Thus he tells us how, on the eve of Charles VII.'s death, a very long comet appeared in the sky, a notable presage of the new King's ambition; and how at Louis's entry into Paris three beautiful and lightly attired maidens 'disoient de petits motets et bergerettes.' And it is plain throughout that though he might behave with nonchalance to hostile Princes, the King never neglected his good citizens of Paris. He kept them informed of his projects and policy, and on the morrow of a battle would return to his capital and declare his success or failure. Thus after Montlhéry he arrived in Paris late, and went forthwith to sup at the hotel of Charles de Méhun, where he met 'plusieurs Seigneurs, Damoiselles et Bourgeoises.' To them he recited the hopeless misadventure with 'moult beaux mots et piteux, de quoi tous et toutes plorèrent bien largement.' Is not this rather the familiarity of a *pater patriae* than the vulgar pleasantries of a monarch inspired only by a taste for

* This *Chronique* has hitherto been ascribed to Jean de Troyes, but M. Auguste Vitu has made it exceedingly probable that the real author is Denis Hesselin, and has presented the argument with considerable ingenuity in his pamphlet:—*La Chronique de Louis XI. dite 'Chronique Scandaleuse,' faussement attribuée à Jean de Troyes, restituée à son véritable auteur.* Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1873.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

low company? What wonder is it that, if besides these condescensions he remitted the taxes laid upon the people by his father, the citizens followed him with cries of 'Nœl! Nœl!' and lit joyous bonfires at the street corners! But the King, indeed, was mindful of all. When the Earl of Somerset visited him at the Bastille, he gave the Englishman a black velvet cloak, because a shower was passing over the sky; and he rarely supped with the citizens of Paris without thanking them for their courage, and thus assuring himself of their eternal loyalty. Under his reign Paris was a city of gaiety and splendour. When the Queen's barge sailed up the Seine, such a pageant was prepared as had rarely been witnessed. Not only did the officers of the city meet her, 'tous honnestement vestus et habillez,' but the children's choir of Sainte Chapelle sung 'beaux virelais et autres chansons moult mélodieusement,' while certain 'Damoiselles' offered her a 'beau cerf fait de confiture,' with the Queen's arms hung about its neck.

INTRO-
DUCTION

*Paris sa
bonne ville*

Though the reign of the nobles was over, there is no trace in all this amiable history of prudery or intrigue. So well did the King understand his people and their strength, that he even flattered them with jousts and tournaments, whereat the *damoiselles* and *bourgeoises* of Paris were the Queens of Beauty, and the victory rested with the brave citizens. The smallest excuse was sufficient for a pageant, and this tyrant, who has been described as a monster of penury, never sent an embassy away without bestowing upon its seigneurs goblets of fine gold or presents of strange beasts. And then, exhausted with high policy and incessant travelling, he would go off to his fastnesses in

Pageants and
Tournays

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO-
DUCTION Touraine, and find sport or repose at Plessis-les-Tours : that ruin of which scarce a trace remains, at Amboise, where the hapless Charles VIII. met his death, and where a cavalier may still ride on horseback to the roof : or at Loches, where
Castles were hidden his darkest dungeons and his fiercest *oubliettes*. There he lived, wisely distrustful of his own countrymen, and attended only by his gallant Scots Guard. The faith he professed in the integrity of these champions was loyally repaid by Lord Bernard Stuart, 'the charbunczell, chief of every chevelrie,' whose elegy is eloquently chanted by Dunbar,* and who would scarce have lent his honourable sword to a black-hearted rascal.

A Scot
Abroad

But popular opinion is not to be gainsaid. Though the *Chronique Scandaleuse* is the necessary complement of Comines's more palatial portrait, though the one picture confirms the other, the world is still incredulous. Those who condemn the King's life for a masterpiece of villainy, see a culminating horror in his death. Yet truly it was no horror, but a great and tragic spectacle. Louis, at last worn out by excess of toil, fell into a lethargy, alternating between insensibility and suspicion, between superstition and the devoutest piety. He retired within the inmost recess of Plessis-les-Tours, which he fortified with iron bars and sharp spears. There also he built watch-towers of iron, and set therein forty cross-bow men, who were bidden to shoot any man who should approach the castle after the shutting of the gates. Meanwhile he neglected no enterprise which might be of good omen. He adorned

The End of a
Great King

* See *The Poems of William Dunbar* : Edited by John Small, and published (1883-84) by the Scottish Text Society, pp. 59-64.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

churches, he set free his enemies, he lavished upon his physician thousands of crowns. Now he would bid the Holy Man of Calabria to Tours; now he would demand that the Sacred Vial be brought from its sanctuary at Reims. It was a stern fight for life, fought by a King who could relinquish pleasure, but who clung with ferocity to his declining power. Wherefore he caused himself to be spoken of in every corner of his realm, lest men should think him dead. He despatched emissaries to every part of Europe, hoping that thereby he might convince his rivals of his health and strength. Above all he caused beasts to be bought for him in all places: ‘Dogs he sent for round about, into Spaine; for a kinde of Spanish greyhound, called in French *Allans*; into Britaine for little beagles, greyhounds, and spaniels, which he paid deere for; into Valence for little rugged dogs, which he made to be bought above the owners owne price: into Sicily he sent for good mules, especially to some officer of the countrie, for the which he paid double the value; to Naples for horses, and for divers strange beasts into divers countries, as into Barbarie for a kind of little lions, no greater then little foxes; . . . into Denmarke and Sweden for two kind of strange beasts, one of the which were called Helles, being of shape like a Hart, and of the greatnes of a buffe, with hornes, short and thicke; the other Rengiers, being of the bignes and colour of a buck, save that their horns be much greater.’ And when these rare beasts arrived at Plessis he made no more account of them. In being sought and paid for they had achieved their purpose.

INTRO-
DUCTION

Stratagems
and Devices
against
Report

Thus the Most Christian King lay dying, and none knew

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- his desperate straits. Though his strength ebbed fast, he
DUCTION neither relaxed his vigilance nor forgot his duties; indefatigably he sent messengers to foreign courts; and it is one of the humours of history that a few months before his death he exchanged letters of courtesy with Richard III.,

Louis XI. and Richard III. his only rival in hatred and ability. At the outset he wrote promising friendship, and Richard replied, by Blanc Sanglier, with a demand that English merchants should receive protection in France. Presently Richard became more familiar, and asked the dying King for ‘aucuns vins du cru de Bourgogne et de la Haulte France pour moi et la reine ma compagne.’* There is a strange irony in this peaceful interchange of good services, and the correspondence proves that, even in August 1483, Richard had no inkling of Louis’s imminent doom. But not even this fantastic fear of forgetfulness availed to dull the French King’s wit. He shuddered less at the approach than at the presence of death. He would, if he could, have exercised a terror from beyond

Louis XI. and Charles VIII. the grave. Wherefore he sent for the Dauphin, whom he already called His Majesty the King, that he might shape his future policy. Comines, who never left his side, and was ever a faithful witness, declares that in all the time of his sickness he never once complained of his suffering as do other men. In brief, his death was not the last fight of a coward, hungry for decrepitude; but the unwilling resignation of a statesman who foresaw the ruin of a favourite policy. Yet how shall he be cleared from the common charge of timidity?

* See *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reign of Richard III. and Henry VII.*: Edited for the Master of the Rolls by James Gardiner. 1861.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

When Comines wrote his Chronicle, he hoped no more for it than that the Archbishop of Vienne should turn it into Latin; and within a century it was part of four literatures! Moreover, so great is the superiority of a living over a dead language, that, while the Latin version of Jean Sleidan is forgotten, the English of Thomas Danett is a masterpiece untouched by age. It possesses all the virtues of majestic speech: written at the time when all men handled English prose with freedom and strength unparalleled, it is distinguished by the rich cadences and the wealth of imagery which are the glory of our Authorised Version. To criticise it were superfluous, since it carries its virtues upon the surface. It satisfies the wisest canons of translation: it is neither slavish nor diffuse; the English is no mere echo of the French, but the sentences are admirably turned from one idiom into the other. In one respect Danett embellishes his original: the style of Comines is at times restrained unto dryness, and the translator, by the deftest use of words, has put colour, where before there was but a uniform grey. If Comines is apt to write like a well-groomed conscience, Danett shows a perfect sense of history by amplifying the manner of the conscience into the style of a full-blooded man. He changes the metaphors at will, or invents images where the French gives him no warrant. Thus he renders ‘*qui en ce temps-là estoit encore un petit orgueilleux*’ by the infinitely more expressive phrase:—‘Whose peacock feathers were not yet all pulled.’ When the Duke of Burgundy is ‘*mis en doute*,’ Danett prefers to put him ‘in a dump’; and if the ministers of justice ‘*firent plusieurs piéces*’ of

INTRO-
DUCTION

The Mémoires
according to
Danett

THE HISTORIE OF

INTRO- some 'humblet' or 'by-fellow,' Danett thus embroiders his
 DUTION misfortune:—'They hewed him in to a number of small
 gobbets.' Above all, the Englishman dislikes the common,
 inexpressive adjective. On one page 'meschans' appears as
 Differences in 'unthriftliest,' on another as 'lewd and naughty persons';
 Style while the expansion of 'plus mécaniquement' into 'yea, after
 a much beastlier sort' throws a curious side-light upon
 Danett's character. Though he is as adverse to slang as
 Comines himself, there is one turn he cannot resist; and,
 in rendering the simple 'gagnent' by 'win the garland,' he
 anticipates an odious catchword of the present day. But
 it is not so much in separate phrases that Danett declares
 his superiority, as in the sustained picturesqueness of his
 narrative. You may read his history from end to end with
 a pleasure which comes rather from the music of the
 phrase than from the simple statement. And he is a true
 Elizabethan in his preference of a fat, sonorous prose before
 the stern and careful elegance of Philippe de Comines.

Danett Of his life nothing is known. He lives in his works,
 and we can discover no more of his career than may be
 gleaned from a scanty preface. He dedicated the *Princeps**
 in 1596 'to the Right Honorable my very good Lord, the
 'Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, Knight of
 'the Honorable order of the Garter, and Master of hir
 'Majesties Courte of Wardes and Liveries.' The manu-
 script, so he tells us, presented to my Lords of Burghley and
 Leicester in 1566, was permitted to lie hid for many a year,

* Here is its exact style and title:—'The Historie of Philip de
 Commynes Knight, Lord of Argenton. Imprinted at London by Ar.
 Hatfield, for I. Norton, 1596.'

PHILIP DE COMMINES

until it was perused anew at the request of Sir Christopher Hatton. 'Since his death,' thus proceeds the preface, 'certaine gentlemen to whose hands the booke happened to come, tooke so great pleasure and delight therein, that they determined to put it to the presse, supposing it a great dishonor to our nation, that so woorthie an historie being extant in all languages in Christendome, should be suppressed in ours.' For a while Danett was in doubt, since, like Francis I., he thought that the secrets of Princes should not be published in the vulgar tongue. But his scruple was overborne, and his book was popular enough to pass through several editions. He followed the later French impressions in supplementing the life of Louis XI. with the last two Books, and since he called his book a *Historie* and not *Memoirs*—the title subsequently adopted—he may have used the folio printed at Lyons in 1559 by J. de Tournes. Nor was he satisfied with the work thus complete. He must needs break the silence, rigorously kept by Comines during the years of his disgrace, with a 'Supply': wherein are mimicked both the style of the author and his habit of moral reflection.

But Danett was no mere translator: he was an accomplished historian as well. Not only does he rigorously correct his author's text, but he supplements the narrative with a set of admirably lucid notes. He had the literature of his time and subject at his finger-tips, and, before all things, he was determined to expose the spiteful heresies of Jacques Meyer, the Flemish scoundrel, who dared to belittle Comines and his Master. No man of his time was better inspired with the critical spirit, and he had the courage to specialise in an age devoted to vast enterprises and the

INTRO-
DUCTION

His Account
of the *Historie*

His Work as
Historian

PHILIP DE COMMINES

INTRO- acquisition of universal knowledge. His other two works
DUCTION prove the steadfastness of his temper: for the one is a
*Description of the Low Countries gathered into an Epitome
out of the Historie of Lodovico Guiccardini* (London: 1593);
the other nothing less than a further supplement to
Comines:—*A Continuation of the Historie of France from
the death of Charles the Eighth, where Comines endeth till the
death of Henry the Second* (1559), ‘Collected by Thomas
Danett’ (London: 1600). However, it is not as an original
His Monu- historian that Danett is remembered: the fashion of
ment narrative and the changing habit of research have left his
poor experiments in obscurity. But neither fashion nor
pedantry can stale this worthy translation of a masterpiece
unique alike in observation and philosophy.

CHARLES WHIBLEY.

NOTE

Originally translated in 1566.

Editio princeps printed 1596.

*This edition is reprinted from
the revised text of 1601.*

THE HISTORIE OF
PHILIP DE COMMINES
KNIGHT
LORD OF ARGENTON

1601

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD

THE LORD BURGHLEY

Lord Treasurer of England, Knight of the
honorable order of the garter, and Master
of hir Majesties Court of Wardes
and Liveries.



T is now, R. Honorable, thirty
yeeres since I presented to your
L. and the late Earle of Leicester
my Lord and Master, the *Historie
of Commynes* rudely translated into
our vulgar toong, the which of
later times at the request of the late Lord Chaun-
cellor sir Christopher Hatton, I perused anew,
and enlarged with such notes and pedegrees as
seemed necessarie, as well for explanation as (in
some few places) for correction of the historie.
Since his death, certaine gentlemen to whose hands
the booke happened to come, tooke so great plea-
sure and delight therein, that they determined to

THE HISTORIE OF

THE
EPISTLE
DEDICA-
TORIE

put it to the presse, supposing it a great dishonor to our nation, that so woorthie an historie being extant in all languages almost in Christendome, should be suppressed in ours. Notwithstanding their resolution, they forbare of curtesie to put in execution till their purpose should be made knowen to me. And albeit that I alleaged many reasons why in my conceit bookes of this nature, treating of Princes secrets were unfit to be published to the vulgare sort, the rather because the Author in some places seemeth to be of that opinion himselfe: yet none of my reasons could prevaile, but they continued in their former determination: adding therunto, that others besides my selfe had taken paines in this historie, and though I of peevishnes would suppress my labors, yet they would not suppress theirs. So that would I nould I to the presse the booke must go, being already warranted by publike authoritie thereunto. I seeing the matter advaunced thus far, thought it no time to draw back any longer, but in the end tooke the burthen upon my selfe, doubting if I had done otherwise, both the blemishing of the historie, wherein I may boldly say, that I have more travelled than any man that hath entermedled therewith; and also that the worke should be presented to some patrone that had no interest

PHILIP DE COMMINES

THE
EPISTLE
DEDICA-
TORIE

therein. Wherefore having againe examined it, and freed it from some faults that me thought fit to be reformed: I have presumed to publish it under the protection of your Lordships honorable name, to whom of right it appertaineth in many respects. First, because the author therof was a noble man, one of your owne cote, the wisest, and the best acquainted with all matters of state of any man in his time. Whereunto I adde, that he continued a Counsellor successively to so many French Kings, that he was reputed one of the ancientest Counsellors in Christendome at his death: wherein your Lordships fortune is not onely correspondent, but hath also surmounted his. Secundarily, your Lordship hath the aisne title to it, and lastly the right of survivour casteth it upon you by course of common lawe. Wherefore all these circumstances well considered (my particular duties also not forgotten) I thought it a kinde of sacrilege to suffer your Lordship to be robbed of your right. May it therefore please you to receive this historie into your honorable protection as your owne, as well in regard of the Author, being a man of such condition as above is rehearsed; as also of the worke treating of that subject wherewith your Lordship at this day is better acquainted than any man living: and lastly

THE HISTORIE OF

THE
EPISTLE
DEDICA-
TORIE

in respect of your owne title therunto. Which
no whit doubting but that your Lordship wil
most willingly vouchsafe to do, beseeching the
Almighty long to preserve you to the great stay
of this flourishing estate, most humbly I take my
leave this first of November 1596.

Your L. most humble and

obedient to commaund

THOMAS DANETT.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

THE LIFE OF PHILIP DE COMMINES

Knight, Lord of Argenton,

gathered out of divers good authors, together with a briefe
answere on his behalfe to certaine accusations, wherewith

IACOBUS MEYERUS a Flemming in his Annales of

Flaunders, chargeth verie unjustlie both

Commines history and his life.



PHILIP DE COMMINES author of this present history, was borne at Communes, a town in Flaunders, being a gentleman of a very ancient house, and joined by blood and alliance to the best of that nation. His surname was Clytus, his father and uncle had been both of them under D. Philip of Burgundie chiefe governours of Flaunders, called by Meyer, 'Summi prætores Flandriæ,' and to them he giveth this title: 'Domini Ruscirii, Buscirii et Watenenses': whereby appeereth of how great Nobilitie and goodly revenewes Communes was, not onely in Flaunders, but also in Haynault. In his youth, namely, from the nineteenth yeere of his age, and the yeere of our Lord 1464 till the 27 of his age, and the yeere 1472 he served Charles Duke of Burgundie, and afterward Lewis the eleventh of that name King of Fraunce, who employed him in his weightiest and secretest affaires. He was of tall stature, faire complexion, and goodly personage. The French toong he spake perfectly and eloquently, the Italian, Duche, and Spanish reasonably well. He had read over verie diligently all histories written in French, especially of the Romaines, and bare them all in memorie. He much acquainted himselfe with strangers, thereby to increase his knowledge. He had great regard to the spending of his time, and abhorred all idlenes. He was of an excellent, yea an incredible

THE HISTORIE OF

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

memorie: for he often indited at one time to fower Secretaries, severall letters of waightie affaires appertaining to the state, with as great facilitie and readines, as if he had but one matter in hand. A vertue so rare that I have not reade the like of any but of Iulius Cæsar and him. Nothing more greeved him, than that in his youth he was not trained up in the Latine toong, which his misfortune he often bewailed. After he was entred into the service of King Lewis, he was highly in his favour, and during his raigne bare great sway in the realme. The said King also greatly advanched him: for he made him first one of his privie chamber, then of his privie Counsell, Seneschall of Poictu, and Lord of Argenton. He married being of good yeeres a gentlewoman of the house of Montsoreau upon the borders of Anjou, named Helena. But after King Lewis his death, he fell into great troubles: for because he was a stranger, many envied his prosperitie, so farre forth that at the length his enemies caused him to be imprisoned in the castle of Loches in the Duchie of Berrie, (a place appointed onely for those that are attached of high treason) where he was verie extremely handled, as himselfe in his historie reporteth. Notwithstanding his wife by earnest and continuall sute, in the ende obtained so much favour, that he was remooved thence and brought to Paris: where when he had remained a certaine space, he was led to the parlament house to be arraigned. He had many enemies and those mightie, and of so great authoritie at that time in Fraunce, that for feare of them no Counsellor durst plead his cause: wherefore necessitie enforcing him to defend himselfe, he pleaded there by the space of two howers, being verie attentively heard by the whole audience, and in the ende so acquit himselfe, that by the Iudges sentence he was discharged. Among other things he rehearsed at the barre how sundrie troublesome and dangerous voiaages he had sustained for the King and the common wealth. How highly King Lewis both had favoured him, and for his faithfull service rewarded him: for his owne part, he said that he never had done any thing covetouslie, ambitiously, nor cruelly: and further, that if he had sought onely to advance and enrich himselfe, he might have had as goodly possessions as

PHILIP DE COMMINES

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

any man in Fraunce. He was prisoner almost three yeeres. The next yeere after his deliverie he had a daughter borne named Iane, which married with Rene Earle of Pantabria descended of the Dukes of Britaine, by whom among divers other children she had issue Iohn late Duke of Estampes, Lieutenant of Britaine, Knight of the French Kings order, and Lord of divers goodly Seniories. But to returne to Communes, in prosperitie he gave for his posie this sentence: 'He that will not labour let him not eate': but in adversitie this: 'I sailed into the deepe of the sea, and a sudden tempest overwhelmed me.' He died the threescore and fourth yeere of his age, the yeere of our Lord 1509 the 17 day of October, in his owne house of Argenton in the countrey of Poictu, from whence his bodie was conveighed to Paris, and there lieth buried in the Augustine Fryers. I was heere purposed to have staid my pen, and further not to have spoken either of Communes historie or his life, had I not called to minde divers accusations of Iacobus Meyerus, who in sundrie places of his *Annales of Flanders* inveigheth verie bitterly as well against Communes life as his historie, whose accusations I am forced to laie open to the judgement of the world, to the ende it may appeere whether they be grounded upon just prooffe. Notwithstanding before I enter into the examination of them, thus much in the commendation of Communes historie I cannot passe over in silence, that two of the greatest and woorthiest Princes that raigned in Europe these hundred yeeres; namely, the Emperour Charles the fift, and Francis the first King of Fraunce, made so great account of this historie, that the Emperor carried it continually about with him, as Alexander did the workes of Homer, no lesse esteeming it than he did them, and the King was as much displeased with the printing and publishing thereof, as was the same Alexander in times past for the setting forth of Aristotles workes called *Acroamatica*, as rehearseth Gellius: so desirous was he to have reserved to himselfe and a few of his owne subjects the great treasures of wisdom hidden in this small volume. But let us now heare what Meyer objecteth against this historie. In the 17 booke of his *Annales of Flaunders* writing of the battell

THE HISTORIE OF

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

fought at Saintron betweene Charles Duke of Burgundie and the Liegeois, he hath these words: ‘Pugna commissa cæduntur magno numero et profligantur, ad novem millia cecidisse tradit qui interfuit Philippus Cominius. Sed Brabantia scriptor et quidam scriptor Flandriae (quibus plus habeo fidei) tria tantum millia occubuisse memorant.’ For answeere heereunto, if this place be indifferently weighed it shall appeere to be wholly grounded upon malice and no colour of reason, much lesse just prooffe: First, because Meyer preferreth the credit of these obscure Annalistes that write but upon report, before the credit of him that was an eie witnesse, and that no way could advantage himselfe by reporting a lye. Secondly, sir Oliver de la Marche, who lived also in that time and was Steward of the Duke of Burgundies house, writeth that a great number of these Liegeois were slaine at this battell, and also at the siege of Saintron, but that their friends and kinsfolkes trussed up their dead bodies in vessels full of lime; partly to the ende the discomfiture might appeere the lesse, and partly that they might be buried among their auncestors, in the which feate (saith he) the Liegeois shewed a woonderfull audacitie and courage: whereby it should seeme a great number to have been thus trussed up, by meanes whereof the dead appeered the fewer, and were reported accordingly, which deceived divers, and happilie these Annalists of Brabant and Flaunders. The like practice we read of in divers authors, and of the like writeth Meyer also himselfe. Lastly, the *Annales of Burgundy* agree with Commynes, and report the number as he doth, so that this answeere I hope shall suffice for this point. Againe, in the same booke fol. 364, Meyer writeth thus: ‘Loquitur Cominius de nobili quadam fœmina attrebatensis ditionis proditrice patriæ, cujus ædere non vult nomen, falsus in hoc ut in cæteris historicus.’ Sure if it were an undoubted truth that a Ladie of Artois could not send the King such advertisement as Commynes reporteth that she did: or if Meyer were Pythagoras that *ipse dixit* might passe for prooffe, the credit of Commynes should happilie hang in ballance: but if you reade the place in his historie, the very circumstances will induce any indifferent man to thinke, that

PHILIP DE COMMINES

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

which is there written of this Ladie to be no lie. Againe fol. 366, Meyer hath these words: 'Hic est Cominius ille transfuga, gente Flandrus, qui multa de Carolo et Lodovico provinciali lingua bene scripsit, sed quædam etiam scripsit plane mendaciter, multaque dicenda infideliter reticuit.' This is so generall and uncertaine a charge that answere in truth it deserveth none: notwithstanding, I refer to the judgement of those that shall read this historie, whether Communes conceale his Masters faults therein or not (for that is Meyers meaning in this place). True it is that he uttereth them not in such railing barbarous termes as Meyer very unseemely useth of so great a Prince as King Lewis was, and is offended with Communes for not dooing the like, a thing which becommeth Meyer himselfe very ill, and would have become Communes much woorse. But our author as he concealeth not his masters faults, but layeth them open enough to the understanding of the wise and attentive Reader: so delivereth he them, so sparingly, and under such termes as truth being uttered, the Kings honor be no further impeached, than very necessitie doth enforce; a matter very commendable in a gentleman writing of a Prince, a servant of his Master, and a subject of his Sovereigne. Lastly, Meyer fol. 365, hath these words: 'refert Cominius exercitum Caroli adeo fuisse extenuatum, ut exhibere illum Anglis non auderet, sed hoc falsum est.' But you must beleve Meyer upon his word, other disproofe of Communes report he can bring none, neither grounded upon any circumstance, nor produced out of any good author that writ of those times. But on the contrary side for the confirmation of that which Communes writeth in this place, first La Marche reporteth that the bloodie fluxe entred into the Dukes campe lying before Nuz, which it is very like consumed many, and impaired the health of many more. With him also agree the *Annales of Burgundie*, which report that the Duke lost 15000 men before Nuz: which being well considered, and this withall, that the siege endured a whole yeere, and yet in the ende the Duke forced to depart frustrate of his purpose, whereby his soldiers had not onely their bodies tired, but also their minds discouraged:

THE HISTORIE OF

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

I suppose no man of sounde judgement will thinke that the Dukes armie could be otherwise than in verie poore estate. Now that you have heard all that Meyer hath or can object against the credit of this historie (which also how substancially he hath proved I leave to the judgement of the wise and indifferent reader to consider :) it is good reason you should also heare what opinion other authors have both of Commines and of his historie, and how honorable testimonie in their writings they give to them both. *Annales Burgundiae* lib. 3. pa. 930, speaking of Commines testifie thus of him : 'He was one of the wisest gentlemen of his time, and the best acquainted with all matters of state, as appeereth by his historie : whereof the Emperour Charles made so great account, that he never slept before he had read certaine chapters thereof, for the finishing of his daies worke.' Which sure this noble and sage Emperor would never have done, if Commines had been a reporter of lies, especially of the said Emperours owne great grandfather, whose life and death are so ample in this historie treated of. Paulus Æmilius giveth such credit to Commines, that al that he writeth in the history of France of the raigne of Lewis the 11 is only an abridgement of him, and wholly taken out of his writings. Ferron in his supply to Paulus Æmilius historie maketh in many places very honorable mention of Commines, highly commending him both for his great wisdom and vertue and sinceritie in his historie. Lodovico Guicciardini no French man, but an Italian, in his description of the lowe Countries fol. 220, calleth Commines a writer woorthie of great commendation. And fol. 310 and 311 thus he writeth : 'Of the Noble house of Commines was Philip de Commines Lord of Argenton, who wrote the historie of his owne time verie sincerely, he was a noble personage, of great enterprise, and of him divers authors made honorable mention.' Heere we have the true testimonie of sundrie woorthie writers (for to vouche all were too tedious) on Commines behalfe, which joined with the approbation of the Noble Emperor Charles the fift, are sufficient, as I suppose, to maintaine his credit against the venomous dartes of Meyers sclandrous accusations. Now as

PHILIP DE COMMINES

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

touching Commynes life, the onely thing that Meyer blameth therein, is his departure from the Duke of Burgundies service: for the which he inveigheth no lesse bitterly against his person, than before he did against his historie, for fol. 355, where he maketh mention of the Duke of Burgundies crueltie used at the castle of Nesle, which he tooke by assault the yeere 1472 he hath these words: '*Crudelis hic visus Carolus et animo turbato, crediturque quosdam ex familiaribus parum habuisse fideles, ex quibus haud dubie erat Philippus ille Cominius ortu Flandrus, Dominus Ruscirii, qui hoc anno transfugit ad regem, qui si vir fuisset probus et integer, nequaquam deserto Domino suo, deserta et abjurata patria ad talem transisset tyrannum, aliosque ad idem faciendum sollicitasset, quantiscunque muneribus invitatus.*' Againe fol. 366 thus he saith: '*Causam cur transfugerit aliisque nonnullis author fuerit idem faciendi non lego, cum autem Cominius in suis scriptis causam suæ defectionis reticeat, non dubium puto quin ob fœdum aliquod patratum scelus more proditorum aufugerit.*' Whereunto somewhat to answere in Commynes behalfe, I say that what cause mooved him to leave the Duke as we certainly know not, so is it not like that he departed from him for any heinous offence, bicause he was never charged with any, neither is Meyer able to produce any one testimonie (as even himselfe in this place is forced to confesse) that he forsooke the Duke in any treacherous sort, neither is he able to proove that he solicited any to leave the Dukes service during the Dukes life, though without all prooffe most unjustly he charge him therewith. For if Commynes had departed with the betraying of townes and castles to the enemie as de Cordes did; if for attempting to destroye the Dukes person, as Baldwine the Dukes base brother, and the Earle of Estampes his cosin did; if for both, as the Earle of Campobasso did, his offence could no more have beene concealed, than the others above mentioned was. Wherefore, as Meyer reasoneth that because Commynes no where in his writings, uttereth the cause of his departure, it is like he departed for some hainous offence: so on the other side with much more reason it may be answered, that because neither

THE HISTORIE OF

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

Meyer nor any other Historiographer in their writings utter the cause of his departure; like it is that he departed for no hainous offence, but only for his owne advancement or safetie or both, without seeking by traiterous practises to harme the Duke, as the above named with divers others did. But let us now examine what by all presumption was the cause of his departure from the Duke: and secondarily, whether his departure from one Master to another being in hostilitie be excusable: which two points being throughly discussed, it shall plainly appeere to the world, whether he be justly to be charged with any evill dealing, for leaving the Duke of Burgundie his first Master, and under whose dominion he was borne. As touching the first point, I am of opinion that Commines by his departure from the Duke of Burgundie, sought both his owne advancement and his safetie, the former whereof he had just cause to hope for at King Lewis his hands, as a thing well deserved, at the Kings being at Peronne, where Commines wisdom and great credit with the Duke of Burgundy (as say the *Annales of Burgundie*) stood the King in so good stead, that by his onely meanes he was restored to his realme, libertie and life, which otherwise had beene in great danger, as by the course of this historie most plainly doth appeere. Wherefore Commines could not but assure himselfe of great advancement at King Lewis his hands, as well bicause of the Kings great liberalitie, as also for his owne desert: neither did his hope faile him, as the sequele well declared. On the other side at the Dukes hands no great advauncement was to be looked for, both bicause the qualitie of his service to the Duke and the King was not alike, and so consequently the desert unlike; and also because the Dukes liberalitie was inferior to the Kings, his attempts so impoverishing him, that he had not to be liberall of as the King had. Whereunto I adde, that he made no such account of his servants as the King did, but attributed all his good successe to his owne braine, whereby their service was the lesse esteemed and the worst rewarded, or rather not at all esteemed nor rewarded: for he never used any mans counsell but his owne, so that wise men lost but their time with him. Yea

PHILIP DE COMMINES

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

Meyer himselfe reporteth him to be ‘Durum, asperum et ingratum, à quo milites maligne admodum stipendia accipiebant, raro blande et liberaliter appellarentur, quanquam in multis in locis extremis periculis se objectarent, plurimumque algoris, inediæ et æstus sustinerent.’ If then the Duke were of this disposition towards his soldiers, and so evill rewarded them whose helpe he dayly and howerly used: what reward could any wise man looke for at his hands, whose advice he seldome asked and never followed? Further, the Duke was of nature very cholericke and readie to offer his servants injurie, as for example, to the Earle of Campobasso he gave a blowe, which in the end cost him his life, and whether any such outrage offered to our Author caused or furthered his departure we know not: but that advancement (which was to be looked for at the Kings hands, and not to be hoped for at the Dukes) was one cause, is alreadie, as I suppose, sufficiently prooved. The second cause of Commynes departure from the Duke in mine opinion was safetie; for the Duke, as Commynes himselfe reporteth, forced not to venture his servants into any danger were it never so great, which all men (especially despairing of reward of their service) will seeke to avoide: for as our Author himselfe saith in one place of his historie, most men by service seeke to advaunce themselves, but all men will have an eie to save themselves. Further, Commynes being a very wise man foresaw the Dukes attempts to be such, as would in the ende overthrowe both himselfe, his subjects, and his dominions, wherefore he thought it best to dislodge in time and to save one. These in mine opinion were the principall causes of his departure from the Duke, which being honest and reasonable, and his departure likewise voide of all treason and treacherous practises against the Duke: I see no reason why for his departure he should not rather be commended than condemned. The last point that we have to consider is, whether he being the Dukes subject might leave his Master and depart to the King, were the causes of his departure never so reasonable and honest. Whereunto I answer, that Commynes was not absolutely the Dukes subject: for Flaunders was held in

THE HISTORIE OF

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE

soveraigntie of the crowne of Fraunce, and both the Earle and all the people sworne to beare no armes against the King of Fraunce, and divers examples too long to rehearse, are to be read in the histories of divers Earles of Flaunders, that have been arrested, imprisoned, and together with their people fined for breach of this oath. Wherefore seeing our author was a Flemming borne, and Flaunders held in Soveraigntie of the King of Fraunce, and the Duke of Burgundie in hostilitie with the King of Fraunce, contrarie to the oth he either tooke or ought to have taken; and further violating divers, nay I may say all those points whereunto by his allegiance he was bound to the French King: I see no reason why Commynes might not, or rather ought not to leave an inferior rebellious Lord, and cleave to his sovereign Prince and King, to whom he ought a sovereign dutie both by allegiance and oth. And if after his revolt, he gave any advice to the furtherance of the Kings affaires, he did therein in mine opinion the duetie of a faithfull servant and true subject. Thus much I have beene forced to speake in defence both of Commynes life, and historie, whereof as the former appeereth to have beene both honest and vertuous as well by the reasons above alleaged, as also by the notable discourses wherewith he farceth his historie, which breath nothing but vertue and sinceritie: so is the latter confirmed by the consent of divers good histories, and approoved by the judgement of the noblest Princes that Europe bred these many hundred yeeres, as I trust is sufficiently declared. Wherefore our authors credit standeth upright, as well for good conversation of life, as sincere report in historie, both the which Meyer no lesse falsely slandereth, than he doth in other places of his *Annales* the noble races of the Kings of England and Fraunce, which ignorantly or maliciouslie he reporteth to be more vile and base than any honest eare can endure to heare. Thus having I trust sufficiently defended the credit of this woorthie writer, I will heere abruptly for avoiding of tediousnes stay my pen.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

A TABLE

declaring the contents of all the Chapters
contained in this historie.

THE FIRST BOOKE

CHAP.	PAGE
The preface of the Author to the Archbishop of Vienna in Fraunce,	23
I. The occasion of the wars betweene Lewis the eleventh, and the Earle of Charolois afterward Duke of Burgundie,	25
II. How the Earle of Charolois and divers noble men of Fraunce levied an army against king Lewis, under colour of the weale publike,	31
III. How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montlhery, and of the battell fought there betweene the King of Fraunce and him,	38
IV. Of the danger the Earle of Charolois was in, and how he was rescued,	46
V. How the Duke of Berry the kings brother, and the Duke of Britaine, joined with the Earle of Charolois against the King,	53
VI. How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates with their whole armie passed the river of Seine upon a bridge of botes, how Iohn Duke of Calabria joined with them, and how they all encamped before Paris,	58
VII. A discourse upon ambitious hunting after offices and estates, by the example of the Englishmen,	64
VIII. How King Lewis entred into Paris, while the Princes of Fraunce practised with the citizens,	67
IX. How the Earle of Charolois artillerie and the Kings artillerie shot the one against the other neere to Charenton, and how the Earle of Charolois caused another bridge to be built upon botes over the river of Seine,	71

THE HISTORIE OF

CHAP.	PAGE
X. A discourse upon certaine vices and vertues of King Lewis the 11,	76
XI. How the Burgundians lying neere to Paris, and looking for the battell, supposed great thistles to have beene launces held upright,	79
XII. How the King and the Earle of Charolois met together to treat of peace,	82
XIII. How the citie of Roan by practise was put into the Duke of Bourbons hands, for the Duke of Berry, and how the treatie of Conflans was fully concluded,	86
XIV. How the treatie of peace was concluded betweene the King and the Earle of Charolois and his confederates,	89
XV. How by the division that hapned betweene the Dukes of Britaine and Normandy, the King recovered the said Duchie which he had given his brother,	93
XVI. How the new Duke of Normandie returned into Britaine in very poore estate, and utterly discouraged, bicause he had failed of his enterprise,	95

THE SECOND BOOKE

I. Of the wars betweene the Burgundians and Liegeois, and how the towne of Dinand was taken, sacked and rased,	98
II. How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of Burgundie then Earle of Charolois, and how he discomfited them in battell,	103
III. How some of the Citizens of Liege agreeing to yeeld their towne and others refusing so to do, the Lord of Hymbecourt found meanes to enter into it for the Duke of Burgundy,	111
IV. How the Duke of Burgundie made his entrie into the Citie of Liege, and how the Citizens of Gaunt where he had beene evill intreated before, humbled themselves unto him,	116
V. How the King seeing what had happened to the Liegeois, made war in Britaine upon the Duke of Burgundies confederates, and how they two met and communed together at Peronne,	120

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAP.	PAGE
VI. A discourse wherein is declared how greatly learning especially in histories profiteth Princes and Noble men, .	125
VII. How and for what cause the King was staied and held prisoner in the castle of Peronne by the D. of Bur- gundies commandement,	128
VIII. A discourse wherein is shewed, that an enterview betweene two great Princes for treatie of their affaires, hurteth more than profiteth,	131
IX. How the King to deliver himselfe out of the castle of Peronne, renounced his league with the Liegeois, .	136
X. How the King accompanied the Duke of Burgundie, making war upon the Liegeois, who before were his confederates,	139
XI. How the King arrived in person with the Duke of Bur- gundie, before the citie of Liege,	143
XII. How the Liegeois made a desperate salie upon the Duke of Burgundies men, where he and the King were in great danger,	147
XIII. How the citie of Liege was assaulted, taken, and spoiled, and the Churches also,	151
XIV. How King Lewis returned into Fraunce with the Duke of Burgundies consent, and how the Duke proceeded in destroying the countries of Liege and Franchemont, .	155
XV. How the K. by subtell meanes perswaded the Lord Charles his brother to take the Duchie of Guienne for Brie and Champaigne, to the Duke of Burgundies discontentment, .	159

THE THIRD BOOKE

I. How the King tooke occasion to make war anew upon the Duke of Burgundie, and how he sent a Pursevant of the Parlament to Gaunt to sommon him to appere at Paris, .	162
II. How the townes of Saint Quintin and Amiens were yeelded to the king: and for what causes the Constable nourished the war betweene the K. and the Duke of Burgundie, .	166
III. How the Duke of Burgundy tooke Piquigni, and after- ward found meanes to make truce with the King for a yeere to the Constables great grieve,	170

THE HISTORIE OF

CHAP.	PAGE
IV. Of the wars among the Princes of England during these troubles betweene king Lewis and Charles Duke of Burgundy,	176
V. How by king Lewis his aid, the Earle of Warwicke chased king Edward out of England, to the Duke of Burgundies great grieve, who received him into his countries,	181
VI. How the Earle of Warwicke tooke out of prison king Henry of England,	183
VII. How king Edward returned into England, where he slew in battell first the Earle of Warwicke, and then the Prince of Wales,	193
VIII. How the wars revived betweene king Lewis and Charles D. of Burgundy, by the sollicitation of the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine,	196
IX. How the final peace treated of betweene the Duke of Burgundy and the king brake off because of the Duke of Guennes death, and how these two great Princes sought to deceive each other,	203
X. How the Duke of Burgundie seeing that he could not take Beauvais, before the which he had laid his siege, went to Roan,	209
XI. How the king made peace with the Duke of Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundy, and how the Earle of Saint Paul escaped for that time a conspiracie that these two Princes made against him,	213
XII. A discourse very fit for this place, of the wisdom of the king and the Constable, with good advertisements to such as are in credit with Princes,	220

THE FOURTH BOOKE

- I. How the Duke of Burgundie being seized of the Duchie of Guelders, sought to encroach further upon the Almaines, and how he laid his siege before Nuz,
- II. How the towne of Nuz was succoured by the Emperor and the Almaines against the Duke of Burgundie, and of other enimies that the king procured the Duke,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAP.	PAGE
III. How the king wan from the Duke of Burgundie the castell of Tronquey, the townes of Montdidier, Roye, and Corbys, and how he sought to perswade the Emperor Frederick to seaze upon all that the said Duke held of the Empire,	234
IV. How the Constable began to be had in suspition againe, as well of the king as of the Duke of Burgundie,	238
V. How the Duke of Burgundie levied his siege before Nuz by composition, and how the king of England his confederate sent to defie king Lewis,	241
VI. Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters of credit to the king of England and the Duke of Burgundie, which after were in part cause of his death,	246
VII. How the king clothed a poore servant in a cote armor with a scutchin, and sent him to speake with the king of England in his campe, where he received a very good answer,	250
VIII. How truce for nine yeeres was treated of betweene the kings of Fraunce and England, notwithstanding all the lets and impediments that the Constable and the Duke of Burgundie made,	254
IX. How the king feasted the English men in Amiens, and how there was a place assigned for the enterview of the two kings,	260
X. How the two kings met and sware the treatie before concluded, and how some supposed that the holy Ghost came downe upon the king of Englands pavilion in the likenes of a white pigeon,	266
XI. How the Constable after the truce made with the Englishmen, sought to excuse himselfe to the king: and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the king and the Duke of Burgundie,	272
XII. How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundy, and how he went into the Dukes dominions, where by his commandement he was staid and delivered to the king, and after put to death,	278
XIII. A discourse of the fault the Duke of Burgundie committed in delivering the Constable to the king contrary to his safe conduct, and what ensued thereof,	284

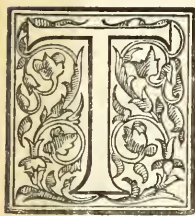
THE HISTORIE OF

THE FIFT BOOKE

CHAP.	PAGE
I. How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swissers, was overthrowen at the straights of the mountaines neere to Granson,	238
II. How after the overthrow of Granson, the Duke of Milan, king Rene of Sicilie, the Duchesse of Savoy, and others departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundie,	294
III. How the Swissers vanquished the D. of Burgundie in battell neere to the towne of Morat,	299
IV. How after the battell of Morat the Duke of Burgundie tooke the Duchesse of Savoy, and how she was delivered and sent home into her countrey, by the kings meanes,	303
V. How the Duke of Burgundy lived as it were solitarily the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine recovered his towne of Nancy,	306
VI. Of the Earle of Campobaches great treasons, and how he kept the D. of Burgundy from hearing a gentleman that would have revealed them to him before he was put to death, and how the said D. made no account of the advertisements the king gave him,	311
VII. How the Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with good force of Almaines came to the towne of Saint Nicholas during the siege of Nancy, and how the king of Portugale who was in France, came to see the Duke of Burgundy during the said siege,	316
VIII. How the D. of Burgundy refusing the good counsell of divers of his men, was discomfited and slaine in the battell fought betweene him and the D. of Lorraine, neere to Nancy,	320
IX. A discourse upon certaine vertues of the D. of Burgundie, and of the time his house florished in prosperitie,	324

PHILIP DE COMMINES

THE PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNA IN FRAUNCE



LO satisfie your request (right reverend) so often mooved unto me, I sende you heere a memoriall as agreeable to truth, as I can possibly call to minde, of all the actes and doings that I have beene privie unto, of king Lewis the eleventh our master and benefactor, a prince woorthy of perpetuall memory. Of his youth I can say nothing but by his owne report. But from the time I entred into his service, till the hower of his death whereat my selfe was present, I was more continually resident with him than any man of my estate that served him, being ever either of his privy chamber, or employed in his weightie affaires. I founde in him as in all other princes that I have knowne or served, both vertue and vice. For men they are as we be, and perfection is proper to God onely. But sure that prince whose vertues and good partes surmount his vices, deserveth great commendation, the rather bicause commonly noble personages are more prone to al kind of wontonnes than other men: partly for that in their childhood they are brought up without due chastisement and correction, and partly bicause when they are growne to mans estate, ech man seeketh to feede their humors and soothe them in all they say or do. But for mine owne part bicause I love not to flatter nor misreport the truth, somewhat may happily be found in this historie not tending altogether to the kings praise, but I trust the readers will weigh the reasons above alledged. Sure thus much I dare boldly say in his commendation, that in mine opinion he was the prince in his age (all things considered) least subject to vice. Yet have I

PHILIP DE COMMINES

AUTHORS
PREFACE

knowne and beene conversant with as many great princes, both spirituall and temporall as any man in Fraunce of my time, as well the princes of this realme, as those also that have lived in Britaine, Flaunders, Almayne, Englande, Spayne, Portugall, and Italie. Divers others also whom I have not seene: yet have I knowne, partly by conference with their ambassadors, and partly by their letters and instructions which are meanes sufficient to enforme men of their natures and dispositions. Notwithstanding I minde not by setting foorth his commendation in this worke, to detract from the honor and good renowne of others, but send you, penned in haste all that I could call to minde, trusting that you have required it of me to turne it into some worke that you purpose to publish in Latine (to the perfection of which toong you have attained) whereby may appeere both the woorthines of the prince I now write of, and also the excellencie of your owne wit. Farther sir, if I happen to faile in any point, you have my L. of Bouchage, and others who are better able to enforme you of these affaires than my selfe, and to couch their words in much eloquenter language. Although to say the truth considering how honorably the king entertained me, how great familiaritie it pleased him to use towards me, and how liberally he bestowed upon me, never intermitting one of the three till the houre of his death, no man hath juster cause to remember those times than my selfe, whereunto I also adde the losses I have susteined, and the dangers I have beene in sithence his decease, which are sufficient I thinke, to put me in minde of the great benefits I received at his hands during his life. Notwithstanding that I know it to be a matter of course that after the death of great and mightie princes, great alterations ensue to the losse of some, and gaine of others: for riches and honors folow not alwaies their expectation that hunt after them. To conclude sir, the better to enforme you of the time sithence I entred into the kings familiaritie (which is your desire) I am forced first to rehearse what hapned before I came to his service, and so orderly to proceede from the time I became his servant, till the houre of his death.

THE FIRST BOOKE

CHAPTER I

The occasion of the wars betweene Lewis the eleventh and the Earle of Charolois afterward Duke of Burgundie.



AFTER I was past my childehood and able to ride* I was presented at Lisle to Charles then Earle of Charolois, and after his fathers death D. of Burgundie, who received me into his service the yeere 1464. About three daies after my coming thither, arrived at the saide towne of Lisle, certaine Ambassadors from the

king, namely the Earle of Eu, Morvillier Chancellor of Fraunce, and the Archbishop of Narbonne,† who in presence of Duke Philip of Burgundie, his sonne the Earle of Charolois, and their whole Councell in open court had their audience. Morvilliers speech was very bitter, for he charged the Earle of Charolois there present, that at his late being in Holland he had caused a little French ship of war of Diepe to be arrested, and therein the bastard of Rubempre, whom also he had imprisoned, charging him, that he was come thither to take him prisoner, and causing this brute

* Commynes when he came to the Earle of Charolois service was 19 yeeres of age.

† Charles Earle of Eu, Peter of Morvillier, and Iohn de Harcour bishop of Narbonne were the ambassadors here mentioned, they arrived at Lisle the 5 of November.—*Annales Burgundiae*.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

The occasion
of the wars
betweene
Lewis the
eleventh and
the Duke of
Burgundie.

every where to be published* (especially at Bruges whither strangers of all nations resort) by a knight of Burgundie named sir Oliver de la Marche,† wherefore the king finding himselfe wrongfully burdened heerewith (as he said)‡ required D. Philip to send this sir Oliver de la Marche prisoner to Paris, there to be punished according as the case required. Whereunto D. Philip answered that the said sir Oliver was steward of his house, borne in the Countie of Burgundie,§

* Whether the king ment to have taken the Earle of Charolois prisoner by this Rubempre, reade *Annal. Burgundicæ*, lib. 3. pag. 880, and Meyer, lib. 16. fol. 334, who flatly charge him with it.

† Sir Oliver de la Marche heere named wrote a Cronicle of these times.

‡ The cause why the King sent Rubempre into Holland was not (as he said) to take the Earle of Charolois, but the Vicechauncellor of Britaine named in Meyer, Ioannes Rocivilla, and by our author in the third Chapter of this first booke Rouville, whom the Duke of Britaine had sent into England to make a league betweene the realme of England and him, and bicause the King supposed this Vicechauncellor would visit the Earle of Charolois in his returne: he sent this Rubempre into Holland to take him and bring him into Fraunce.—*Annal. Burgund.*, Meyer.

§ For the better understanding of the Dukes answere, I am forced to passe the bounds of a note. Wherefore it is to be understood that in the declination of the Romaine Empire, the Burgundians anno 408, being chased out of Almaine, where they inhabited, the countries now subject to the Palsgrave of the Rhyne, invaded Fraunce, and conquered the countries, now knowne by the names of the Countie and Duchie of Burgundie, together with Savoy, Daulphine, Province, and the greatest part of Switzerland, and anno 414 chose them a king named Gondiachus, with whom (after divers battels fought with changeable fortune) Ætius the Emperour, Honorius his lieutenant in Fraunce, at the length made peace. And Gondiachus remained king of Burgundie, and aided the Romaines against Attila. Soone after failed the male line of Gondiachus, and by the mariage of Clotilde daughter to Chilperic, Gondiachus his sonne, with Clodoveus King of Fraunce: Burgundie fell to Clotarius sonne to the saide Clotilde and Clodoveus, and so continued in the house of Fraunce till the yeere 843, when the sonnes of the Emperor Lodovicus Pius warring together, Burgundie was divided into Burgundiam Transjuranam, and Cisjuranam. Transjuranam containing Savoy, Daulphine, Province, and Lyonnois, remained to Lotharius the Emperour, with the title of King of Burgundie. Cisjuranam containing the Countie and Duchie of Burgundie, was also dismembred, for that part now knowne by the name of the Countie of Burgundie, fell also to Lotharius share: but that part

PHILIP DE COMMINES

and in no respect subject to the crowne of Fraunce. Notwithstanding if it could be duely proved that he had said or done any thing prejudiciall to the Kings honor, he would see him punished according as the fault deserved. And as touching the bastard of Rubempre, he said that true it was that he was apprehended for great causes of suspicion

CHAPTER I

The occasion
of the wars
betweene
Lewis the
eleventh and
the Duke of
Burgundie.

now knowne by the name of the Duchie of Burgundie, was together with the Realme of Fraunce yeelded to Carolus Calvus: But after the death of the Emperor Lotharius, his two sonnes Lodovicus and Lotharius made another partition of their part of Burgundie: for the realme of Austrasia with the Countie of Burgundie fell to Lotharius, after whose death his uncle Carolus Calvus King of Fraunce ambitiously through violence conquered also that part of Burgundie, and joyned it to the crowne of Fraunce, so that the said Carolus Calvus possessed all Burgundie Cisjurana, that is, both the Countie and Duchie of Burgundie. Lodovicus the other sonne of the Emperor Lotharius possessed with the Empire all Burgundie Transjurana, together with the title of King of Burgundie, and left behinde him one onely daughter named Hermingarde, married to Boson brother to Richilde, Carolus Calvus his wife, in respect of which mariage the said Calvus gave to Boson all Burgundie Cisjurana, which he the said Calvus then held: And thus had Boson all the realme of Burgundie, viz. Transjurana in the right of his wife, and Cisjurana, by his brother in lawes gift. Farther the said Calvus being both Emperor and King of Fraunce, created the above named Boson King of Burgundie anno 879, to whom succeeded Lodovicus his sonne, from whom Ralph King of Fraunce (sonne to Richard that first intituled himselfe Duke of Burgundie) wan the greatest part of Burgundie Cisjurana. To this Lewis succeeded his sonne Ralph King of Burgundie, who not being able to defend his realme gave it to the Emperor Conradus 2, who notwithstanding obtained the least part thereof: for as touching Transjurana, Beralde Duke of Saxe had before this gift woon from King Ralph, Savoy and a great peece of Switzerland, Daulphine, Lyonnois, and Province Guigue le gras the first Daulphin, had likewise conquered. And as touching Cisjurana by treatie made betweene the Emperor Conradus 2 and Henry King of Fraunce, onely the Countie remained to the Empire, and the Duchie to the crowne of Fraunce. This I have written, because some hold opinion that the Countie of Burgundie ought also to be held of the crowne of Fraunce, whereas in deede rather the Duchie with all Transjurana (the greatest part whereof the French King at this day possesseth) ought to be held of the Empire, from whom the said French Kings have pulled so many provinces, that now (as one properly speaketh) the Eagle hath lost so many feathers, that hardly he can flie.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

I

The occasion
of the wars
betweene
Lewis the
eleventh and
the Duke of
Burgundie.

given, and strange behavior used by him and his men about the towne of Lahaye* in Holland, where at that present his sonne the Earle of Charolois remained, adding that if the said Earle were suspicious he tooke it not of him, for he was never so, but of his mother who had bene the most jelous Ladie that ever lived. But notwithstanding quoth he, that my selfe never were suspicious: yet if I had been in my sonnes place at the same time, that this bastard of Rubempre haunted those coasts: I would sure have caused him to be apprehended as my sonne did. Lastly, he promised that if this bastard were not guiltie of this fact, to wit a purpose to have taken his sonne (as common report said he was) he would forthwith deliver him out of prison, and send him to the King according to his ambassadors demands? The D. answered ended: Morvilliar began againe, charging with great and heinous offences, Frances D. of Britaine, and alledging that at the Earle of Carolois late being at Tours (whither he went to visit the king) the said D. and he had given their faith ech to other in writing to become brethren in armes, which writings he said were enterchangeable delivered by the hands of master Tannegui du Chastel, who since hath been governor of Roussillon, and borne some swaie in this Realme: This fact Morvillier aggravated in such sort, that nothing he omitted in setting forth this offence that might tend to the disgrace and dishonor of a Prince. Whereunto the Earle of Charolois made offer eftsoones to answer, being marvellously out of patience to heare such reprochfull speeches used of his friend and confederate. But Morvillier ever cut him off saying: My Lord of Charolois, I am not come of ambassage to you but to my L. your Father. The said Earle besought his father divers times to give him leave to answer, who in the end said thus unto him: I have answered for thee as me thinketh, the father should answer for the sonne, notwithstanding if thou have so great desire to speake, bethinke thy selfe to day, and to morrow speake and spare not. Then Morvillier to his former speech added, that he could not imagine what had

* Lahaie in our author and in *Annal. Burgund.*, where Rubempre should have taken the Earle of Charolois, is named in Meyer Gorkem.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

moved the Earle to enter into this league with the D. of Britaine, unlesse it were because of a pension* the King had once given him, together with the government of Normandy, and afterward againe taken from him.

The next day in presence of the selfe same audience, the Earle of Charolois kneeling upon a velvet cussion, adressed his speech to his father, and began with this bastard of Rubempre, affirming the causes of his imprisonment to be just and lawfull, as the course of his arraignment should well declare. Notwithstanding I thinke nothing was ever proved against him, though I confesse the presumptions to have been great. Five yeeres after I my selfe saw him delivered out of prison. This point thus answered, the Earle began to discharge the D. of Britaine and himselfe, saying, that true it was that the D. and he were entred into league and amitie, and had sworne themselves brethren in armes, but that this league tended in no respect to the prejudice of the King or his realme, but rather to the service and defence thereof, if neede should so require. Lastly, as touching the pension taken from him, he answered, that he never received but one quarters benefit thereof, to the value of nine thousand francks,† and that for his part he never made sute neither for it, nor for the government of Normandy: for so long as he enjoied the favor and good will of his father, he should not need to crave of any man. I thinke verily, had it not been for the reverence he bare to his said father who was there present, and to whom he addressed his speech, that he would have used much bitterer termes. In the end D. Philip very wisely, humbly besought the King lightly not to conceive an evill opinion of him or his sonne, but to continue his favour towards them. Then the banquet was brought in, and the ambassadors tooke their leave both of the father and the sonne. But after the

CHAPTER I

The occasion of the wars betweene Lewis the eleventh and the Duke of Burgundie.

* The pension the Earle of Charolois had of the King with the government of Normandy was 36000 francks.—*Annal. Burgund.*, La Marche, Meyer.

† A franke is two shillings and sixe pence sterling, after eight soue to an English shilling, so that the Earles pension after that rate amounted to fower thousand five hundred pound sterling.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

I

The occasion
of the wars
betweene
Lewis the
eleventh and
the Duke of
Burgundie.

Earle of Eu, and the Chauncellor had taken their leave of the Earle of Charolois, who stood a good way from his father, he said thus to the Archbishop of Narbonne that passed forth the last of the ambassadors: Remember my most humble ductie to the King, and tell him he hath made his Chauncellor to use me very homely heere, but before a yeeres end he shall repent it: which message the Archbishop did to the King at his returne into Fraunce as hereafter you shall perceive.

These Morvilliers words above rehearsed, caused the Earle of Charolois hatred against the King to take deepe roote, the seedes whereof were before sowne by the Kings late redeeming of the townes situate upon the river of Somme,* namely Amiens, Abbeville, Saint Quintin, and the rest which King Charles the seventh had engaged by the treatie of Arras to his father, D. Philip of Burgundie to have and to holde to him and to his heires males, till they were redeemed for fower hundred thousand crownes:† How these matters passed, I know not perfectly, but true it is that in the D. old age he was so governed by the Lords of Croy and Chimay, being brethren, and others of their house, that he agreed to take againe his money and restore the said territories to the King, greatly to the Earle his sons discontentation: for besides that they were the frontier townes of their dominions, they lost in them a number of able men for the wars. The Earle of Charolois charged the house of Croy with this fact, so farre foorth that after extreme age was growne upon his father (whereunto he even then approached) he banished all the said house out of his dominions, and confiscated all their lands, estates and offices.

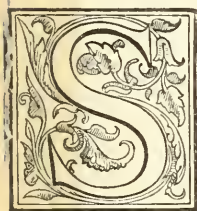
* The townes and territories upon the river Somme engaged to Duke Philip by the treatie of Arras, which was in the yeere 1435, are named in the articles of the said treatie rehearsed in *Annal. Burgund.*, pag. 760 and 761, and in the first booke of La Marche, and in the 16. of Meyer and others.

† They were engaged as our author and *Annal. Burgund.* write for 400000 crownes, but Meyer saith 450000, but they were redeemed for 400000 anno 1463.—La Marche, Meyer, *Annal. Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER II

How the Earle of Charolois and divers noblemen of Fraunce levied an army against King Lewis, under colour of the weale publique.



SOONE after the abovenamed Ambassadors departure, Iohn Duke of Bourbon that last died, arrived at the towne of Lisle, pretending that he came to visit his uncle Duke Philip of Burgundie, who above all houses loved especially this house of Bourbon, and no marvell: for this Duke of Bourbons mother was Duke Philips sister. She had lived a widow many yeeres, and sojourned there at that time with her brother, both her selfe and divers of her children, to wit, three daughters and one sonne, notwithstanding this was not indeede the cause of the Duke of Bourbons arrivall, but his comming was to perswade the Duke of Burgundie to suffer an armie to be levied in his dominions, assuring him that all the Princes of Fraunce would doe the like: meaning thereby to give the king to understand how evil and unjust government he used in his realme, and purposing to make themselves so strong, that they might constraine him by force to redresse this inconvenience, if praiers could not prevaile. This war was afterward called THE WEALE PUBLIQUE, bicause the authors thereof used the common wealth for colour of their enterprise. The said good Duke Philip (for so is he surnamed since his death) agreed that an armie should be levied in his dominions, but the bottom of the enterprise was never discovered to him: for he thought not that the matter should have come to hand strokes as after it did. Immediately began the musters through all the Dukes dominions, and the Earle of Saint Paule afterward Constable of Fraunce, accompanied with the Marshall of Burgundie, being of the

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How the Earle
of Charolois
and divers
noblemen
of Fraunce
levied an
army against
King Lewis.

house of Neuf-chastell, repaired to Cambray (where D. Philip then lay) to the Earle of Charolois, who immediatly after their arrivall assembled his fathers Councill, and a great number of his subjects in the Bishops palace at Cambray, where he proclaimed all the house of Croy traitors to his father and him. And notwithstanding that the Earle of S. Paule alleaged, that by this proclamation he should be greatly indamaged, because long before this, he had given his daughter in mariage* to the L. of Croies sonne: yet was the said house of Croy (all that notwithstanding) forced to abandon the Dukes dominions,† where they lost great riches. With the which dooing, Duke Philip was much discontented, especially because his chiefe chamberlaine (afterward Lord of Chimay) a yoong man well disposed, and nephew to the Lord of Croy, was forced for feare of his life, to depart without leave taken of his master, being advertised that if he did otherwise he should either be slaine or apprehended: but the Dukes old age caused him to beare this matter more patiently than otherwise he would. All this trouble hapned in his house because of the restitution of the territories above mentioned, situate upon the river of Somme, which the Duke had restored to King Lewis for the sum of 400000 crownes, by the perswasion of this house of Croy, as the Earle of Charolois laide to their charge.

The said Earle after he had pacified his father, and reconciled himselfe to him the best that mought be, put his whole force incontinent into the field, being accompanied with the Earle of S. Paule, the principall governor of his affaires, and he that had the greatest charge in his armie, for he had under him by the Earle of Charolois commandement 300 men of armes, and 4000 archers, besides a number

* The Earle of S. Paule had betrothed his daughter to the L. of Croys sonne, but seeing the Earle of Charolois hatred against the said Croy, he would have broken of the mariage again, but Croy in whose house the saide daughter remained, contrarie to hir fathers will made up the match, for the which cause the Earle of S. Paule hated the said Croy to the death.—*Annal. Burgund.*

† The Earle of Charolois besides this matter here alleaged charged Iohn L. of Croy, that he had called him great divell, threatned him, and sought to poyson him.—*Meyer.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

of valiant knights and esquires of Artois, Haynalt, and Flaunders. Like bands and as great were also under the leading of the L. of Ravastin, the D. of Cleves brother, and the L. Anthony bastard of Burgundie, other captaines for brevitie I pass over, but above all the rest, two knights there were especially, in great credit with the Earle of Charolois, the one named the L. of Hault-bordin an ancient knight, bastard brother to the Earle of S. Paule, the other the L. of Contay. They had both beene trained up in the long wars betweene Fraunce and England, at the same time that Henry the 5 of that name King of England, reigned in Fraunce, being confederate with this Duke Philip of Burgundie. They were two valiant and wise knights, and had the principall charge of the whole armie: of yong gentlemen there were a number, but one especially very famous, called master Philip of Lalain, issued of a race that hath ever been so valiant and couragious, that they have in maner all died in the wars in their Princes service. The Earles force was great: for his men of armes were to the number of 1400, but evill armed, and untrained, bicause of the long peace these Princes of Burgundie had lived in. For since the treatie of Arras by the space of 36 yeeres and more, they never had war that indured, nor almost taste of war, save a few broyles against the citie of Gaunt, which were soone pacified. Notwithstanding his men of armes were well mounted, and well accompanied, for few or none should you have seene without five or six great horses of his retinue.* The archers† were eight or nine thousand, and when they mustred they were more unwilling to depart then to give their names, but the ablest were chosen and the rest dismissed.‡

* Every French man of armes is allowed three men to accompany him in the wars, one to beare his head peece, called in Latin *Ferentarius*, and two archers,—La Marche; but the Burgundians had here some 5, some sixe.

† These archers were crossebow-men mounted on horsebacke, as harquebusiers on horsebacke are now.

‡ He that maketh such offer of himselfe, seeketh pray not service, wherefore this rejecting of so many, was done according to the rules of the art of war.

CHAPTER II

How the Earle of Charolois and divers noblemen of Fraunce levied an army against King Lewis.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

II

How the Earle
of Charolois
and divers
noblemen
of Fraunce
levied an
army against
King Lewis.

The subjects of this house of Burgundie lived then in great prosperitie, partly because of their long peace, and partly because of their Princes goodnes, who levied but few subsidies upon them, so that these Seniories seemed comparable to the land of promise in those daies: for they flowed in wealth, and had continued in great quietness the space of 23 yeeres, to wit, till the beginning of these wars now mentioned, which till this day endure unended: their expenses in apparell both of men and women were great and superfluous,* their feasts and banquets more sumptuous and prodigall then in any countrey that ever I sawe, their bathes and other pastimes with women wanton and dissolute, yea somewhat too shamelesse, I meane of women of low estate. To be short, the subjects of this house thought at that time, no Prince able to withstand them, at the least none too mightie for them, but at this present, I know no countrey in the world so miserable and desolate as theirs, and I doubt me the sinnes

* Of the excesse of this house of Burgundie, *Annal. Burgund.* write thus, lib. 3. pa. 917 and 918. All fashions of apparell were growne in use among the subjects of this house of Burgundie, and those so indecent and dissolute, that none could be more. The Ladies and gentlewomen ware upon their head a strange kind of attire, fashioned in pyramidall forme, the top thereof halfe an ell good above the crowne of their head, and thereupon a carehefe of lawne or some other fine linnen hanging downe to the very ground: a fond attire and worthy to be derided. The men disguised themselves no lesse than the women, some ware their clothes so short, that they hardly covered those parts that nature hir selfe shameth to discover: their haire was curled and of such length that it hindred their sight: upon their heads they ware felt-hats copletanked, a quarter of an ell high or more: they stuffed their dublets about their shoulders and brest marvellous full of bombast, to the ende they might seeme square and broad brested, a thing greatly displeasing God: their clokes were not so short but their gownes were as long, for they trained after them upon the ground. To be short, the whole world could not devise stranger kinds of disguising than they had, and that was woorst of al is this, that every rascall and every woman in beggers estate would be apparelled prince-like, and imitate the fashion of Court, without regard either of cost or calling. Compare this with the excesse of England at these daies, and we shall see in a glasse our owne vanities, and have just cause to looke for the same miseries that fell upon this house of Burgundy after this excesse.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

they committed in their prosperitie, cause them to suffer this adversitie, because they acknowledged not all these gifts and benefits to proceede from God who disposed and bestowed them as to his heavenly wisdomes seemeth best.

The Earles army thus furnished even in a moment, of all things necessarie, marched forward,* the whole force being on horsebacke, save those that conveyed the artillerie, which was mightie and strong for that time, and the straglers appointed for the cariage, the which was so great, that the Earles owne cariage inclosed the greatest part of his campe: he marched first towards Noyon, and besieged a little castell called Nesle, which was soone taken, notwithstanding the resistance made by the garrison that was within it. The Marshall Ioachin (one of the fower Marshalls of Fraunce) issuing out of Peronne coasted continually along by the Earles campe, but could not endamage him, for his force was so small, that when the Earle drew neere to Paris he retired thither. All the way as the Earle passed he made no war, but what his men tooke they paid for: wherefore the townes upon the river of Somme and all other townes that he passed by, received his men in small troupes, and solde them for their money whatsoever they would buy, as men resting in suspence whether the King or the Princes should have the upper hand.† So far marched the Earle that he came to S. Dennis neare to Paris, where all the Lords of the Realme had promised to meete him but none came, notwithstanding that the Vicechauncellor of Britaine the D. Ambassador resident in the Earles campe, forged newes of their comming from time to time at his owne pleasure, upon certaine blancks that he had signed with his masters hand: he was a Norman borne, and a very wise and sufficient man, and so behooved it him to be, for the whole campe murmured against him. The Earle of Charolois shewed himselfe before

CHAPTER II

How the Earle of Charolois and divers noblemen of Fraunce levied an army against King Lewis.

* The 15 of May saith Meyer, but the 25 *Annal. Burgund.*, the Earle departed from his father.

† The Earle of Charolois as he passed named himselfe the Duke of Berries lieutenant, for the which cause the townes here mentioned the willinglier received him.—*Annales Burgund.*

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How the Earle
of Charolois
and divers
noblemen
of Fraunce
levied an
army against
King Lewis.

Paris,* where was a hot skirmish, hard at the towne gates, but to the Citizens disadvantage. Men of war within the towne were none, save onely the Marshall Ioachin with his companie, and the Lord Nantoillet, afterward Lord great Master, who did the King as good service in these wars as ever did subject King of France at his neede, and yet in the ende was evill recompensed, rather by his enemies malice, than the Kings fault, though neither of both are wholly to be excused. The poore people of the citie were in so great feare the day of the skirmish, that they cryed often (as I was afterwards credibly enformed) that wee were entred the towne, but without cause. Notwithstanding the L. of Hault-bourdin above mentioned (who had beene brought up in the towne, when it was nothing so strong as now it is) gave advise to assault it, and the soldiers desired nothing more, contemning the townes men because the skirmishes were hard at their gates, yet the contrarie opinion tooke place, whereupon the Earle retired to S. Denis. The next day in the morning he debated with his Councell whether he should go to meete with the Dukes of Berry and Britaine or not, who were at hand as the Vicechauncellor of Britaine said, shewing also their letters testifying the same, but he had forged them upon his blanks, and other newes knew he none. In the end the Earle resolved to passe the river of Seine, notwithstanding that the most part of his Councell gave advise to returne home, seeing the rest of the confederates had broken day, alleaging it to be sufficient to have passed the rivers of Somme and Marne, and more than needed to passe this river of Seine. Some also put forth great doubts, bicause we had no places on our backe to retire into if we should be distressed. But all this notwithstanding the Earle passed the river and encamped at Pont S. Clou,† wherefore the whole armie murmured much against the Earle of S. Paule and this Vicechauncellor, who were the

* The Earles army shewed it selfe before Paris about the 12 or 13 of Iulie, at which time all the Princes should have met him there.—Meyer.

† The Earle of S. Paule tooke a great boate upon the river of Seine, in the which he passed the river, and tooke Pont S. Clou.—*Annal. Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

principall perswaders of him thereunto. The next day after his arrivall there, he received letters from a Lady of this land writtten with hir owne hand, wherein she advertised him that the King was departed out of Bourbonnois, and came downe with all speede to fight with him.

I must here declare the occasion of the Kings voyage into Bourbonnois, which was this: So soone as he understood that all the princes of his realme had conspired against him (at the least against his government) he determined to prevent them, and before they were assembled, to invade the D. of Bourbon, who was the first that openly discovered himselfe to be of the confederacie;* and bicause his cuntry was weake he hoped soone to subdue it, as in deece divers places he tooke, and would easily have taken all, had not succours come thither out of Burgundie under the leading of the L. of Coulches, the Marquesse of Rottelin, the L. of Montague, and others, with whom Master William of Rochefort Chauncellor of Fraunce (a man at this day of great estimation) was also in armes. This force was levied in Burgundie by the sollicitation of the Earle of Beaujeu, and the Cardinal of Bourbon,† brethren to D. Iohn of Bourbon, and by them received into Molines. Aide came also of another side to the D. of Bourbon, under the leading of the D. of Nemours, the Earle of Armignac, and the L. of Albert, being accompanied with a great band of soldiers, some of the which were good men of armes of their countries, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and put themselves into their service. But the greatest part of their men were utterly unfurnished of all things, and forced for lacke of pay to live upon the poore people. The King notwithstanding these their great forces gave them ynough to do: wherefore in the end they fell to treat of peace, especially the D. of Nemours, who solemnly promised and sware

CHAPTER II

How the Earle of Charolois and divers noblemen of Fraunce levied an army against King Lewis.

* Reade a letter written by the King to the Duke of Bourbon and his answere thereunto.—*Annal. Burgund.*, pag. 339.

† This Cardinal of Bourbon was Archbishop of Lyons, and brother to the Duke of Bourbon,—*Annal. Burgund.*; for the which cause I thinke it best in the French to reade *freres* for *frere*, bicause the Earle of Beaujeu and this Cardinall were both brethren to the Duke of Bourbon.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How the Earle of Charolois and divers noblemen of Fraunce levied an army against King Lewis.

to take part with him, and yet did afterwards the contrarie whereupon the King conceived so great displeasure against him, that afterward he could never brooke him, as eftsoones he hath told me. To be short, the King perceiving that he could not atchieve his enterprise in Bourbonnois so speedily as at the first he hoped, and fearing if the Earle of Charolois forces which approached neare to Paris, and the forces of the Duke of Berry his owne brother, and of the Duke of Britaine which were comming out of Britaine, should joine together: that the Parisians would receive them into their towne, because they all pretended the common wealth for colour of their enterprise: and knowing also that as the towne of Paris did, so all the other townes in his realme would follow; for these causes I say, he resolved with all speede possible to put himselfe into Paris, meaning to keepe these two great armies asunder: but his purpose was not to fight, as he hath himselfe divers times told me in communing of these affaires.

CHAPTER III

How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montlhery, and of the battell fought there betweene the King of Fraunce and him.



THE Earle of Charolois supposing that the King being departed out of Bourbonnois (as before you have heard) came down purposely to fight with him: resolved likewise to set forward against the King, and then read openly the contents of the letter sent him by the Lady above mentioned, (but suppressing hir name) and required his soldiers to play the men, saying, that he was fully resolved to hazard the battell, wherefore he marched and encamped at a village neere to Paris called Longjumeau,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

and the Earle of S. Paule with the vawarde lodged at Montlhery, two leagues beyonde Longjumeau, from whence he sent foreriders and scouters abroad, to understand of the Kings comming, and what way he tooke: farther in the presence of the Earle of S. Paule, the Lord of Haultbourdin, and the Lord of Contay, Longjumeau was assigned for the place of the battell, and thither it was agreed that the Earle of S. Paule should retire with the vawarde if the king hapned to come.

CHAPTER III

How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montlhery, and of the battell fought there.

Now you shall understand that the Earle of Maine with seven or eight hundred men of armes lay continually in face of the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, who were accompanied with a number of wise and valiant knights, that King Lewis had put from their pensions and offices at his first comming to the state, (notwithstanding the great services they had done his father, in the recovering and pacifying of the realme:) whereof afterward full often he repented him. Among these knights was the Earle of Dunois, a man of great experience in all matters,* the Marshall of Loheac, the Earle of Dampmartin, the Lord of Bueil and divers others, accompanied with the number of five hundred men of armes, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and retired themselves to the Duke of Britaine, of whose onely subjects this whole force consisted. The Earle of Maine who lay continually in face of the two Dukes campe, (as you have heard) finding himselfe too weake to encounter with them, dislodged continually before them, approaching neerer and neerer to the King, in like maner the Dukes of Berry and Britaine endeavored to joine with the Burgundians. Some have helde opinion that the Earle of Maine had secret intelligence with the Princes, but I could never understand any such thing, neither do I beleieve it.†

The Earle of Charolois lying in campe at Longjumeau (as you have heard) and his vawarde at Montlhery, was advertised by a prisoner, that the Earle of Maine with his whole force, all the men of armes of the Kings ordinarie retinue,

* This John Earle of Dunois was bastard to Lewis Duke of Orleans.—Meyer.

† Yet La Marche saith, that the Earle of Maine was of the Princes confederacie.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the Earle
of Charolois
encamped
neere to
Mont'hery,
and of the
battell fought
there.

being to the number of two and twenty hundreth, and the arriereban* of Daulphine together with fortie or fiftie gentlemen of Savoy, excellent good soldiers, were all joined with the King.

The King in the meane time consulted with the Earle of Maine, the high Seneschall of Normandie called De Brezey, the Admiral of Fraunce who was of the house of Montauban, and others, what was to be done, and in the end whatsoever was said or advised to the contrarie, resolved not to fight, neither approach neere to the Burgundians campe, but onely to enter into Paris,† which in mine opinion was the best and safest course. He stood in great doubt of this high Seneschall of Normandie, and therefore desired him to tell him truly whether he had given his faith in writing to the Princes that came against him: wherunto the Seneschall answered after his merrie jeasting maner, that he had, and that the writing should remaine with them, but the bodie should serve him, which his answer the King tooke in good part, and gave him the leading of his vawarde, and put also under his charge, the guides whose helpe he used, because he ment to shun the battell as you have heard. But the Seneschall being wedded to his owne will, said privily to certaine of his familiar friends, that he would that day joine the two armies so neere together, that he had need to be a good man of war that should sever them without battell, which his promise he performed, though to his owne cost, for the first man that was slaine was himself,‡ and his band with him. These his words, the King hath often

* The Arriereban is an edict never proclaimed but in cases of great extremitie: for all as well nobles as others are therupon bound to repaire to the King, divers of the which before the proclamation thereof are not bound by their tenure to moove. The Arriereban of Daulphine heere named, were all those of the countrie of Daulphine, that held by this tenure. Reade the edict made by King Francis anno 1543 and Girarde of the state of Fraunce, lib. 2. fol. 113.

† The King by the perswasion of the Earle of Maine and the Seneschal Brezey resolved at the last to fight.—*Annal. Burgund.*

‡ Brezey had changed armor with the King, which caused his death: for those that slue him supposed it had been the King,—*Annal. Aquitan.*; but Meyer saith he was reported to be slaine by the Kings procurement, which I know not where he findeth.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

since rehearsed to me, for I served then the Earle of Charolois. CHAPTER
III

But to proceede, the 27 of Iuly,* the yeere 1465, the Kings vawarde came to Montlhery, where the Earle of Saint Paule lodged, who incontinent advertised the Earle of Charolois lying two leagues thence (namely at Longjumeau, the place assigned for the battell) of their arrivall, desiring him of aide with all speed, and alledging that bicause all his men of armes and archers were lighted on foote, and inclosed with their cariage, he could not possibly retire to Longjumeau, according to the order agreed on, without seeming to flie, whereby he should both discourage and endanger the whole armie. Which message received: the Earle of Charolois sent forthwith the bastard of Burgundie called Anthonie with a great band of men to joine with the Earle of S. Paule, and debated with himselfe whether he should go thither in person or not, and in the ende marched forward with the rest, and came to the place about seven of the clocke in the morning: but before his arrivall five or sixe of the Kings ensignes were displaied along upon a great ditch side between the two armies.

How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montlhery, and of the battell fought there.

The Vicechauncellor of Britaine called Rouville was yet in the Earle of Charolois campe, and with him an ancient man of armes named Maderay, the selfesame that delivered Pont S. Maxence to the Burgundians: against these two the whole armie murmured, because the battell being now ready to be given: the forces they had so much vaunted of were yet uncome. Wherefore they were both in great feare, and fled before the two armies joined, taking their way to the Britaines campe. The Earle of Charolois company set themselves in order of battell as they marched, and at their arrivall found the Earle of S. Paule on foote, and all the archers dismounted, ech man having a pale pitched before him. Farther, they bet out the heads of divers pipes of wine to drinke: and sure for those few battels I have been

* Of the day of the battell *Annal. Franc.* agree with our author, but *Annal. Burgund.* and *Annal. Aquitan.* say 17. Meyer hath 17 Cal. Augusti, that is the 16 day of Iuly, and with him agreeth Gaguin and La Marche, who was present at the battell and knighted in it.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

III

How the Earle
of Charolois
encamped
neere to
Montlhery,
and of the
battell fought
there.

in, I never saw men in my life more desirous to fight, which me thought was a good signe and a great comfort. Order was given at the first that we should all light on foote none excepted, but that order was afterward altered. For almost all the men of armes mounted againe on horsebacke, save certaine valiant Knights and Esquiers appointed to fight among the footemen, namely, Monseur de Cordes, and Master Philip of Lalain, with divers others: for at that time among the Burgundians the honorablest personages fought on foote among the archers, to the ende the infanterie might be the better assured and fight the more couragiously, which order they learned of the English men, with whom Duke Philip (being confederate in his youth) made war upon the realme of Fraunce the space of two and thirtie yeeres without truce.* But the burthen of those wars lay upon the English mens shoulders, who were at that time rich and mightie, and had a wise, goodly and valiant King called Henry, accompanied with sage, hardie, and expert captaines, namely, the Earle of Salisburie, Talbot and others, whom I passe over, because those wars were before my time, notwithstanding I have seene the reliques of them. For when God ment to withdrawe his goodnes from the English men, this wise King died at Bois de Vineennes, and his sonne who prooved but a simple man, was crowned King of Fraunce and England at Paris. Soone after, all was turned topsie turvie in England. For civill wars arose among them which have endured almost till this present, by reason that the house of Yorke usurped the crowne, or held it by good title, I wot not wel whether, for the lot of kingdomes is given from heaven.

But to returne to the historie, this dismounting and remounting of the Burgundians, caused both great delay of time, and losse of men, for at this instant, that yong valiant knight Master Philip of Lalain, being but slenderly armed was slaine.† The Kings forces marched scatteringly

* The Duke was joined with the English men but 15 or sixteene yeres, as saith also *Introduction de la Marche*, for the league began anno 1419 and ended anno 1435.

† The Burgundians dismounted so suddenly, that laying downe

PHILIP DE COMMINES

along by the forrest of Torfou, being hardly 400 men of armes at our first arrivall, so that if we had then charged them, in mine opinion we had found no resistance, for they that were behinde, could not have aided the former, because they could not march forward upon a front, but one by one after an other. Notwithstanding, their number continually increased, which this wise knight Monsieur de Contay perceiving, came and told his master the Earle of Charolois, that if he would obtaine the victorie it was time to give the charge, confirming his opinion by divers good reasons, and adding that if he had assailed his enimies at his first arrivall, they had already been discomfited, for then their number was small, but now greatly increased as easie it was to be discerned, and sure he said true.* Then was every mans advise asked, and the former order cleane altered, but in the meane time a great and hot skirmish was already begun, at the very entrie into the village of Montlhery, all of shot on both sides. The Kings bands were led by Poncet of Riviere, being all archers of his ordinarie retinue, glistering in gilt and very well appointed. But the Earles shot was out of order, obedient to no man, and doing all things of their owne braine. Thus began the skirmishes in the which the Lord Philip of Lalain,† and Iames of Mas a valiant gentleman, afterward master of the horse to Duke Charles of Burgundie, fought on foote among the archers. The Burgundians being the greater number, tooke a house, and bare two or three doores before them, wherewith they covered themselves in steede of Targats, and after they were entred the streete, set fire on a house, the winde was with them, and blew the flame in their enimies faces, who thereupon retired, and afterward tooke horse and fled, with the which hue and crie, the Earle of Charolois began to march, leaving the order

CHAPTER III

How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montlhery, and of the battell fought there.

their complete armor they had not leasure to buckle their lighter armor about them, which was the cause of Lalains death.—*Annal. Burgund.*

* Contay used another reason to perswade the Earle to assaile his enimies here not expressed, to wit, to prevent the Parisians, who if they issued forth might inclose him betweene them and the King.—*Annal. Burgund.*

† This Lalain seemeth to be the father of him that was slaine.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the Earle
of Charolois
encamped
neere to
Montl'hery,
and of the
battell fought
there.

first devised. For order was first given that the Earles battell should rest twise by the way, bicause his vawarde and his battle were farre asunder.* The Kings army stood neere to the castle of Montl'hery, a great hedge and a ditch being betwene them and us. The fields beyond them bare that yeere wheate, beanes, and other graine, growne marvellous high and thicke: for the soile there is very good. All the Earles shot marched on foote before him in very evill order, notwithstanding that in mine opinion in a battell the principall hope of victorie consisteth in the shot, I meane if the force of shot be great (for small force serveth to small purpose) and either evill mounted (to the end they be not unwilling to forsake their horses) or not mounted at all. Farther the day of battle, those that are ignorant of the wars will doe a greater exploit, than those that have been long trained up therein, this is the Englishmens opinion, who are the best shot in the world: order was first given (as you have heard) that the Earles battle should rest twise upon the way, to the end the foote men mought breath them, because the vaward and it were far asunder, and the corne high and thicke which troubled their going, yet notwithstanding the cleane contrarie was done, as though men would purposely have lost all. Wherefore hereby, God manifestly declared that he is the Lord of hostes, and disposeth of the victorie as seemeth best to him, and sure for my part, I cannot be perswaded that the wisdom of one man is sufficient to governe such a number of men, nor that an enterprise can be executed in the field, as it is devised in the chamber: and farther I verily beleeeve, that who so enableth himselfe by his own wit and capacitie to give order in so weightie a matter, misbehaveth himselfe towards God. Notwithstanding every man ought to doe his indeavour therein, acknowledging the wars to be one of the accomplishments of Gods judgements, which oftentimes he be-ginneth upon small occasions, to the end that by giving victorie now to one, and now to another, some great realmes and seniories may fall to ruine and desolation, and other

* Betweene Longjumeau where the Earles battell lay, and Montl'hery where his vaward lodged are fower English miles.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

some increase and flourish with large empire and dominion, for farther prooffe whereof marke this that followeth. The Earle of Charolois marched without any breathing given to his shot and footemen upon the way. The Kings men of armes passed through the hedge above mentioned at two severall places, and when they approached so neere their enimies, that they began to charge their staves, the Burgundian men of armes brake their owne shot, and passed through it, not giving them leave to let one arrow flie, notwithstanding that the shot were the principall force and onely hope of their armie, for of the men of armes (being to the number of twelve hundred) I thinke hardly fiftie knew how to charge a lance, there were not foure hundred of them armed with quiracies, and of their retinue not one armed, all the which inconveniences grew partly bicause they had rested so long in peace, and partly bicause this house of Burgundie for ease of their subjects, entertained no soldiers in ordinary. But since that day, these Seniories of Burgundie have continued in troubles, which even at this present rather increase than diminish. Thus the Burgundian men of armes (as you have heard) brake themselves the chiefe force and onely hope of their armie, yet notwithstanding, so it pleased God to dispose of this matter, that on the right side of the castle, where the Earle himselfe stooode no resistance was found. All this day my selfe never departed from the Earle, being lesse afraide than in any other battell that ever I was at since, for I was yoong and knew not what perill ment, but wondred how any man durst resist the Prince I served, supposing none to be comparable to him. Such are the cogitations of men lacking experience, which causeth them oftentimes to maintaine fond arguments, grounded upon small reason. Wherefore it is good to follow his advise that saith, A man seldome repenteth him of too little speech, but often of too much. On the left hand stood the Lord of Ravastin, and master Iames of S. Paul, with divers others, who well perceived their force too weake to encounter with the enimie that came to charge them, but they were now so neere joined together, that it was too late to devise any new order. To be short, these were utterly

CHAPTER

III

How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montlhery, and of the battell fought there.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the Earle
of Charolois
encamped
neere to
Montlhery,
and of the
battell fought
there.

overthrowne, and persued even hard to our carriage, where certaine of the footemen relied themselves, but the greatest part tooke the forrest, being but halfe a league thence. The principall that folowed the chase were the gentlemen of Daulphine and Savoy, with certaine companies of men of armes, who supposed the victorie had beene theirs, and not without cause, for sure the Burgundians flight was great on that side, yea and of great personages. The most part fled toward Pont S. Maxence,* supposing it had held yet for the Earle. In the forrest also a great number staid, among whom was the Earle of S. Paul well accompanied, for he stood neere to the forrest side, and declared afterward that he held not the battell as lost.

CHAPTER IV

Of the danger the Earle of Charolois was in,
and how he was rescued.



THE Earle of Charolois persued his enimies on that side himselfe stood, halfe a league beyond Montlhery, and found no resistance, notwithstanding that he were but slenderly accompanied and met with maine enemies, wherefore he held the victorie for his: but suddenly an old gentleman of Luxembourg called Anthony le Breton, came to him and advertised him that the French were relied upon the field, so that if he followed the chase any further, he should cast away himselfe. But the Earle regarded not his speech, notwithstanding that he repeated it twice or thrise. But even in that instant arrived Monsieur de

* Pont S. Clou, and Pont S. Maxence were yeilded by the Burgundians, bicause the rumor was that the Earle of Charolois was slaine in the battell.—Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Contay, who told him the selfesame tale the old gentleman of Luxembourg had done, and that in so stout and bold termes, that he gave credit to his words and experience, and presently retyred. And I thinke verily if he had passed but two bow shot farther, he had been taken as divers were that followed the chase before him. As he returned, hard by the village he met with a band of footemen flying, whom he pursued being accompanied hardly with an hundred horse: none of these footemen made resistance but one, who gave the Earle such a blowe on the brest with a javelin, that the marke thereof appeared at night: the greatest part of the rest escaped through the gardens, but he that strake the Earle was slaine. And as we passed hard by the castell, we found the archers of the Kings garde before the gate, who never abandoned their place for our comming: whereat the Earle much marvelled, for he thought the battell had benee at an end, but he found it otherwise: for as he turned about to enter into the field (part of his companie being scattered from him) suddenly 15 or 16 men of armes gave a charge upon him, and at the very first slue his carver named Philip D'orgues bearing a guydon of his arme. The Earle was there in great danger and received many hurts, especially one in the throte with a sword (the marke whereof stacke by him as long as he lived) by reason that his beaver being evill fastened in the morning was fallen away, and my selfe saw when it fell. The enimies laid hands upon him, saying, My Lord yeeld, we know you well ynough, be not wilfully slaine: but he manfully defended himselfe. And at that instant a phisitions sonne of Paris that served the Earle, named Iohn Cadet being a great lubberly fellow, mounted upon a strong jade like himselfe, ran through the enimies, and brake them,* wherewith they retired to the ditch side, (the place they had taken in the morning) the rather for that they discovered one of our ensignes marching in the

CHAPTER IV

Of the danger
the Earle of
Charolois was
in, and how
he was
rescued.

* De la Marche calleth him that delivered the Earle, Robert Couterel, or Coutereau, a horseman of Bruxels, his Phisitions sonne, whom for that fact immediately he made knight and feudarie of Brabant. Gaguin writeth that the Earle was twice in danger, once in the hands of Geffery De S. Belin, and againe in the hands of Gilbert Grassay.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

IV

Of the danger
the Earle of
Charolois was
in, and how
he was
rescued.

midst of the field, and approching neere to us, being the bastard of Burgundies ensigne, all to totterd and torne, to the which the Earle all embrewed in his owne blood retired, leaving at his archers ensigne not above fortie men, with whom we being hardly thirtie, joined in great feare. The Earle incontinent changed his horse, having a fresh horse brought him by Simon of Quingy then his page, and since a man well knowne: and rode about the field to relie his men, leaving us that taried behinde him in such feare, that by the space of an houre we were all fully resolved to flee, if but a hundred enimies had marched against us: notwithstanding our men came to us by ten and twentie in a troupe, as well horsemen as footemen, but of the footemen many were hurt, and all very wearie, partly bicause of the battell, and partly bicause of their unreasonable journey in the morning. Soone after returned the Earle himselfe, hardly accompanied with an hundred men, but by little and little our number increased. The corne which but halfe an houre before had bene so high, was now troden flat downe, by meanes whereof, arose a terrible dust, all the fields lay strawed with dead bodies of men and horses, but bicause of the dust none could be knowne.

Immediately after this, we discovered the Earle of S. Paul issuing out of the forrest, accompanied with fortie men of armes, and his guydon marched straight towards us, and continually increased in number, but bicause he was far from us, we sent twise or thrise to him desiring him to make haste, which notwithstanding he did not, neither altered his pace, but caused his men to take up the launces that lay upon the ground, and came in very good order, which sight much comforted us. With him a great number relied themselves, and in the end came and joined with us, so that we were then to the number of eight hundred men of armes, but footemen fewe or none, which was the onely let the Earle obtained not perfect victory, for there was a great ditch and a thicke hedge betweene his battell and the Kings.

Of the Kings part fled the Earle of Maine with divers others, to the number of eight hundred men of armes. Some have helde opinion that the said Earle of Maine had

PHILIP DE COMMINES

intelligence with the Burgundians, but for mine owne part I beleieve it not. Never was in any battell so great flight on both sides, but the two Princes kept the field: of the Kings part there was a man of honor that fled as far as Luzignan without staie, and of the Earles part a noble personage to Quesnoy le Comte, these two had no great desire to bite one another.*

CHAPTER IV

Of the danger
the Earle of
Charolois was
in, and how
he was
rescued.

While the two armies stood thus in order of battell, the one in face of the other, the artillerie shot terribly, which shue men on both sides, but neither partie desired a new field. Notwithstanding our band was greater then the Kings, but his presence and the curteous language he used to his soldiers, was a great stay to his people, so far foorth, that I am throughly perswaded both by mine owne knowledge and that I have since heard, that had it not beene for him alone they had all fled. Some of our company desired a new battell, especially the L. of Haultbourdin, alledging that he discovered a troupe of enimies flying, and undoubtedly if we could have recovered but a hundred archers to have shot through the hedge above mentioned, all had been ours.

While this matter was in communication, and both the armies standing thus in order of battell without fight, the night approched, and the King retired to Corbeil, but we thought he had encamped in the field, because fire falling by chaunce into a barrell of powder, and certaine carts laden with munition in the place where the King had stooode, tooke in the end the great hedge above mentioned, which we supposed to have been the Frenchmens fiers there encamped, whereupon the Earle of S. Paul and the Lord of Haultbourdin, who seemed to be the men of greatest experience in our army, commanded our cariage to be brought to the place where we were, and our campe to be inclosed therewith, and so it was. And as we stood there relied together in order of battell, divers French men returning from the chase, and supposing the victorie to be theirs, and our campe the Kings, passed through the midst of us, some of them escaped, but the most were slaine. The men of name that died on the Kings part were these, master Geffery

* For the two places here named be above three hundred English miles asunder.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

Of the danger
the Earle of
Charolois was
in, and how
he was
rescued.

of S. Belin, the high Seneschall of Normandy, and capitaine Floquet, and of the Burgundians, master Philip of Lalain: of footemen and common soldiers we lost more than the King, but of horsemen the King more than we: of prisoners the French tooke the best of those that fled. There were slaine of both sides two thousand at the least.* The battaile was well fought, and there were of both parties that did their endeavor, some in fighting, and some in flying, but sure in mine opinion it was a woorthy feat of armes to relie themselves together upon the field, and to stand three or foure howres in order of battell, the one in face of the other, and undoubtedly both the Princes had good cause to make account of their subjects that stood so well by them at their need. But they did herein like men not like angels, for some lost their offices for flying, which were bestowed upon others that fled ten leagues beyond them: one of our part lost his credit, and was commanded out of his masters presence, but within one month he was in greater favor than before.

When we were inclosed with our cariage, every man lodged himselfe as commodiously as he could, a great number of us were hurt, and the whole armie almost discouraged, fearing that the Parisians with two hundred men of armes that were within the citie, and the Marshall Ioachin the Kings lieutenant there, would issue foorth and assaile us on the other side. After it was darke night fiftie launces were commanded to go foorth to understand where the King lodged, but hardly twenty of them went, notwithstanding that our campe were not above three bowe shot from the place where we supposed the King had encamped. In the meane time the Earle of Charolois ate and dranke a little, as did all the rest of the company, each man in his owne lodging, and the wound in his necke was dressed: but we were forced to remove out of the place where he refreshed himselfe, three or fower dead bodies to make him roome, and to bring two bottles of straw, upon the which he sat downe. And as they remooved these dead bodies, one of the

* There were slaine at the battell of Montlhery 2000,—*Annales Burgund.* Meyer saith 3000, Gaguin 3600.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

poore naked soules began to call for drinke, into whose mouth was powred a little of the tysan the Earle had drunke of, wherewith his spirits revived, and then he was knownen to be one Savaric an archer of the Earles gard a valiant fellow, who was dressed and healed.

CHAPTER IV

Of the danger
the Earle of
Charolois was
in, and how
he was
rescued.

The Earle debated with his Councell what was to be done, the first that spake was the Earle of Saint Paule, who said we were in great danger, and gave advise by breake of day to retire homeward, to burne part of our cariage, to save onely the artillerie, and to give order that none should lead backe any cariage, but such as had above ten launces under their charge, adding that it was impossible to lie there without victuals betweene Paris and the King, after him spake Mounseur de Haultbourdin almost to the same effect, save that he advised us to stay till we understoode what newes our scouters that were abroad would bring us, to the which purpose spake also three or foure others. But the last that spake was Mounseur de Contay, who said that so soone as the army should understand of this resolution they would all flie, and by that meanes be taken and spoyled before they had gone twenty leagues: which his opinion he confirmed by divers very good reasons. Wherefore he gave advise that every man should lodge himselfe as commodiously as he could that night, and the next morning by breake of day begin a new field with determination either to live or die upon the place, which he said to be a safer course than to flie. The Earle of Charolois followed the said Contaies advise, and gave every man commandement to take his rest for two howers, and at the sound of the trumpet to be in a readines: farther he willed divers by name to send to comfort his soldiers.

About midnight our scouters that were abroad returned, and it well appeered they had not beene far: for they brought word that the King lodged at the fires above mentioned. Incontinent others were sent foorth, and within an houre after every man put himselfe in a readines to fight, but the most part had rather have fled. About breake of day our scouters last sent foorth met one of our Carters whom the enemies had taken prisoner that morning as he brought a

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

Of the danger
the Earle of
Charolois was
in, and how
he was
rescued.

pot of wine from Montlhery. This Carter told them that the French were all fled, whereof they sent word incontinent to the campe, and went themselves to the place, and found the Carters report true, whereupon they returned with this newes to the great comfort of the whole armie, and then a number cryed to pursue them, that made but small haste after them, not an hower before. My selfe had an old horse halfe tired, who by chaunce thrust his head into a paile of wine and drunke it off, which made him lustier and fresher that day than ever before.

When it was broad day every man mounted on horsebacke, and the squadrons made a goodly shew in the field, notwithstanding all our companies were not yet come together, but a number returned at that present which had lien hidden in the woods all night. The Earle of Charolois suborned a Frier Franciscan, who brought worde to the campe that he came from the Britains, who would be there the selvesame day, which newes comforted not a little the whole armie, but all men beleaved it not.

Immediately after, to wit, about ten of the clocke in the morning, arrived the Vicechauncellor of Britaine, called Rouville, and Maderey above mentioned with him, accompanied with two archers of the D. of Britaines garde in their livery coates, which comforted marvellouslie the whole army, and the said Vicechancellor was asked where he had been, and was commended for his departure (considering the great murmuring that was risen against him) but much more for his returne, and every man welcommed them and made them good cheere.

All this day the Earle of Charolois kept still the field, rejoicing greatly, and wholly attributing the honor of the victory to himselfe alone, which glory cost him deere, for after this he never followed any mans advise but his owne, and whereas before he had hated the wars, and loved nothing that appertained thereunto: his thoughts were after this so cleane altred that he continued in the wars till his death, in them ended his life, and by them desolated his house, at the least brought it marvellously underfoote, though not altogether destroyed it. Three noble and wise Princes his

PHILIP DE COMMINES

predecessors had so highly advanced it, that few Kings except the K. of Fraunce were mightier than he, and in rich and strong townes none passed him: but no man especially no Prince ought to attribute too much to himselfe, but to acknowledge all prosperitie and good successe to proceed from God. Sure these two things I dare boldly say in his commendation, first that I thinke never man endured more travell than he in all points of bodily labour and exercise, and secondarily that in mine opinion, I never knew hardier gentleman: for I never heard him complaine of wearines, I never saw him shew any countenance of feare, yet was I with him seven yeeres together in the wars: every sommer without faile, and sometime both winter and sommer his attempts and enterprises were so high and difficult, that onely God by his absolute power could have atchived them, for they passed far mans reach.

CHAPTER IV

Of the danger the Earle of Charolois was in, and how he was rescued.

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and the Duke of Britaine joined with the Earle of Charolois against the King.



THE next day being the third after the battell, we remooved our campe and lodged at Montlhery, out of the which the people fled, part into the Church steeple, and part into the Castell, but the Earle caused them to returne to their houses, neither lost they the value of one penie, for every man paid his shot as truly as if he had been in Flaunders. The castell helde for the King, and was not assaulted by us. The third day being passed, the Earle of Charolois by the Lord of Contais advise departed to Estampes (a good and commodious lodging, and in a fruitfull soile) meaning to prevent the Britains, who

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER V

How the
Duke of Berry
the Kings
brother, and
the Duke
of Britaine
joined with
the Earle of
Charolois
against the
King.

came that way, and before their arrivall to lodge his men that were sicke and hurt in the towne, and the rest abroad in the fields. This good lodging and the Earles long abode there saved many a mans life. At the said towne of Estampes arrived the Lord Charles of Fraunce then Duke of Berry, and the Kings onely brother, accompanied with the Duke of Britaine, the Earle of Dunois, the Lord of Dampmartin, the Lord of Loheac, the L. of Bueil, the Lord of Chaumont, and master Charles of Amboise his sonne (who since hath caried great credit in this Realme) all the which the King at his first comming to the crown had displaced and put out of office, notwithstanding the great services they had done the King his father and the realme, both in the conquest of Normandie and in divers other wars. The Earle of Charolois and all the noble men that were with him went forth to receive them, and lodged their persons in the towne, where their lodgings were alreadie made, but their forces lay abroad in the fields. They had with them eight hundred men of armes very well appointed, a great number of the which were Britons, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and these made a gallant shew in their campe: of archers and other soldiers armed with good Brigandines they had great force, so that I suppose they were six thousand men on horsebacke, all in very good order, and sure this army shewed the Duke of Britaine to be a great Prince, for they were all paid out of his coffers.*

The King being retired to Corbeil (as you have heard) was not idle, neither forgot what he had to doe, but went straight into Normandy partly to levy men, and partly because he feared rebellion in the countrey, but a great part of his forces he left about Paris in those places that had most need of defence.

The first evening that all these Princes met at Estampes, they told newes each to other, the Britons had taken prisoners certaine of the Kings part that fled, and if they had been but a litle neerer the place of the battell, they had

* The Britaines army was of 10600 men,—*Anna. Aqui.*; and the archers here mentioned were al mounted on horsebacke, otherwise the men of armes could not arise to sixe thousand.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

either taken or discomfited the third part of his army. They had first given order to send forth certaine bands before them, to understand how neere the Kings army and the Earles were together, but they altered their mindes. Notwithstanding master Charles of Amboise and certaine with him scoured the countrey before their army, to see if they could meete any of their enimies, and certaine prisoners as you have heard they tooke, and part also of the Kings artillerie. These prisoners reported unto them, that undoubtedly the King was slaine (for so they supposed because they fled at the very beginning of the battell,) which newes the abovenamed master Charles of Amboise, and they that were with him brought to the Britaines campe, who rejoyced marvellously thereat, supposing it had been true, and hoping for great rewards if the Lord Charles were King. Further they debated in councell (as a man of credit there present, afterward advertised me) how they might rid the countrey of the Burgundians, and send them home in the divels name, and were in maner all agreed to cut their throtes if they could, but this their joy soone ended, whereby you may perceave what sodaine alterations are in a realme in such troubles.

But to returne to the campe lying at Estampes, when every man had supped and a great number being walking in the streetes: The Lord Charles of Fraunce, and the Earle of Charolois withdrew themselves to a window, where they entred into very earnest communication. Now you shall understand that there was among the Britaines one that tooke great pleasure in throwing squibs into the aire, which when they fall to the ground run flaming among men, his name was master Iohn Boutefeu, or master Iohn de Serpens, I wot not well whether. This mery companion being secretly hidden in a house, threw two or three squibs into the aire from a high place where he stood, one of the which by chance strake against the bar of the window where these two Princes communed together, wherewithall both of them started sodainly up, being astonished at this accident, and each beholding other, suspecting this to be purposely done to hurt them: then came the Lord of Contay to his master

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and the Duke of Britaine joined with the Earle of Charolois against the King.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER V

How the
Duke of Berry
the Kings
brother, and
the Duke
of Britaine
joined with
the Earle of
Charolois
against the
King.

the Earle of Charolois, and after he had told him a word or two in his care, went downe, and caused all the men of armes of the Earles house, and all the archers of his garde, and a number of other to arme themselves. Incontinent also the Earle of Charolois mooved the Duke of Berry to command the archers of his garde to do the like, whereupon immediatly two or three hundred men of armes, stood on foote in harneis before the gate, with a great number of archers, the which sought round about from whence this fire might come: in the end the poore fellow that had done the deed fell downe upon his knees before them confessing the fact, and threw three or foure other squibs into the aire, whereby he put divers out of suspicion each of other, thus the matter turned to a jest, and every man unarmed himselfe and went to bed. The next day in the morning they sat in councell to debate what was to be done, all the Princes with their principall servants being there present, and as they were of divers parts and not obedient to one head: so were they also of divers opinions as in such assemblies it cannot be otherwise chosen. But among the rest of their talke, certaine words that passed the Duke of Berry (who was yong and unacquainted with such exploits) were especially marked: for he seemed already to be weary of this enterprise, alledging the great number of the Earle of Charolois men that he had seene in the towne hurt and maimed, of whom to shew that he had pitie and compassion he brake forth into this speech and said, that he had rather the matter had never been begun, than that so much mischief should arise by his occasion and for his cause, which words displeased greatly the Earle of Charolois and his men as hereafter you shall heare: Notwithstanding they concluded in this assembly to go before Paris, to proove whether the towne would enter into league with them for the benefit of the common wealth (which they all pretended to be the onely cause of their assembly) being fully perswaded that all the townes in the realme would follow the example thereof. The words above mentioned uttered by the D. of Berry in this assembly, put the Earle of Charolois and his men into such a dump, that they said thus one to another, Heard you this man speake? he is discouraged for

PHILIP DE COMMINES

seven or eight hundred hurt persons that he seeth in the town, who are none of his but meer strangers to him, he would be otherwise troubled than if the matter should touch himselfe in any point, and easily be won to agree with his brother and leave us in the mire, and because of the long wars that have been in times past betweene King Charles his father and the D. of Burgundie my father, both the parties would soone consent to turne their forces against us, wherefore it is good to provide us of friends in time. And upon this suspicion onely, William of Cluny Prenotarie, who died Bishop of Poitiers was sent into England to King Edward the 4 then rainging, to whom the Earle of Charolois had ever before been mortall enimie, supporting the house of Lancaster against him, of the which he was issued by his mother.* And the said Clunies instructions were to treat with King Edward of a mariage betweene the Kings sister called Margaret, and the Earle of Charolois, not to conclude the matter, but onely to put the King in hope thereof: for the Earle knowing how greatly the King desired this mariage, supposed by this meanes to win him to take his part if he needed his helpe, at the least to staie him from attempting ought against him. And notwithstanding that he ment nothing lesse then the accomplishment thereof, because as fervently as he loved the house of Lancaster, as extreemly hated he the house of Yorke: yet was the matter so labored, that certaine yeeres after, the mariage was accomplished,† and the Earle receaved also the order of the Garter, and ware it till his dying day. Many a such deed is often done upon suspicion onely, especially among great Princes, who are much more suspicious than other men, because of the doubts and reports that are dayly brought unto them oftentimes by flatterers upon no occasion.

* Charles D. of Burgundie was of the house of Lancaster after this sort. Iohn of Gaunt D. of Lancaster had issue by Blaunche his first wife, daughter and heire to Henry D. of Darby and Lancaster, Philippe which married with Iohn King of Portugall bastard of Ferrande, by whom she had issue Isabell married to Philip D. of Burgundie, by whom she had issue this D. Charles.

† Margaret, King Edwards sister, arrived in the Lowe countries, 25 Iunii Ann. 1468.—Meyer.

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and the Duke of Britaine joined with the Earle of Charolois against the King.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates with their whole army, passed the river of Seine upon a bridge made of boates, how Iohn D. of Calabria joined with them, and how they all encamped before Paris.



ALL these Princes according to there determination departed from Estampes, having sojourned there certaine daies, and marched to Saint Maturin of Larchant, and Moret in Castinois, in the which two little townes the Lord Charles of Fraunce, and the Brittaines lodged, but the Earle of Charolois encamped in a great medow upon the river of Seine, and made proclamation that every man should bring a hooke with him to fasten his horse therewith, he caried also with him seaven or eight small boates in cartes, and great store of pipeboorde, meaning therewith to make a bridge over the river of Seine, because these Princes had no passage there. The Earle of Dunois accompanied him riding in a litter, for bicause of the goute he could not sit on horsebacke, notwithstanding his ensigne was borne with him. When they came to the river they launched foorth the boates they brought with them, and tooke an Iland in the midst of the streame, where certaine of our archers landed and skirmished with a company of horsemen that defended the passage on the other side under the leading of the Marshall Ioachin and Sallezard. The place was much to the disadvantage of the French, bicause it was high and in a goodly vine country, besides that the Burgundians had great store of artillerie under the charge of a notable gunner named Master Giralde, whom they tooke prisoner at the battell of Montlhery, being then in

PHILIP DE COMMINES

the Kings service. To be short, the above mentioned horsemen were forced to abandon the passage and retire to Paris. The selfe same night the bridge was made from that side of the river where we lay to the Iland, where incontinent the Earle of Charolois caused his pavilion to be pitched, and lodged there all night with fiftie men of armes of his house: by day breake a great number of Coopers were set on worke to make casque of the pipe boord we brought with us, who so bestirred themselves, that before noone the bridge was made from the Iland to the other side of the river. Incontinent passed the Earle of Charolois, and caused his tents whereof he was well furnished, to be pitched: over the same bridge passed also his whole armie and artillerie, and lodged upon the side of a hill hanging towards the river, by meanes whereof his campe made a goodly shew to those that came after.

It was that whole daies worke to convey over the Earles owne forces, but the next morning by day breake passed also the Dukes of Berre and Britaine with their whole armie, commending this bridge to be very commodiously and speedily made, they marched when they were passed, a little beyond the Earle, and encamped also upon the hill. When it was darke night we discovered a great number of fires as far from us as we could well discern, which divers supposed to be the Kings forces, but before midnight we were advertised that it was Iohn Duke of Calabria* onely sonne to King

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates passed the river of Seine, and encamped before Paris.

* It is requisite that I should here set down the particular quarrell that every one of these Princes had to the King, some are mentioned by our author, and others in other authors. The D. of Berries quarrell was for a larger partage. The Earle of Charoloys demanded restitution of the territories upon the river of Somme. The D. of Britain had cause to be offended and afearde, because the King had picked a quarrell to him by demanding of him three things, never before demanded of any D. of Britaine: The first, that he should no more write in his stile *Dei gratia Britannie Dux*: The second, that he should pay to the King a yerely tribute: The third, that all the spirituall livings in Britaine should be left to the Kings disposing. For these causes the D. of Britaine joyned with the Princes: the D. of Calabria had cause of offence, because being entred into Italy to recover the Realme of Naples, and the King having promised him aide: after the said D. of Calabria was overthrowne at Troia in Apulia: the King

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates passed the river of Seine, and encamped before Paris.

Rene of Sicilie * with nine hundred men of armes of the Duchie and Countie of Burgundie. The said Duke had with him few footmen, but was well accompanied with horsemen, and those in so good order, that for their number I never sawe a goodlier company nor a more warlike: for he had with him six score men of armes barded, all Italians or trained up in the Italian wars, among whom were Iames Galiot, the Earle of Campobache, the L. of Baudricourt now governor of Burgundie, and divers others: his men of armes were very expert soldiers, and to say the truth, the flower of our armie, I meane number for number. With him were also fower hundred crossebow men that the Palsgrave had lent him, all very well mounted and very good soldiers. Besides whom he had also in pay five hundred Switzers

refused to send him the aide promised, so that he was forced utterly to abandon his enterprise. The D. of Bourbon had married the Kings sister, and could not get hir mariage money: the Duke of Nemours, Earles of Dunois, Dalebret, and the rest of the noble men and gentlemen were against the King, some because they were put out of pension and office, many because the King sought to deprive them of the roialties they had in their seniories touching Hunting and Hawking, and sought to draw all to himselfe, but all in generall were offended because he contemned his nobilitie, and entertained none but men of base estate about him. Thus much I have set downe because it might otherwise seeme strange, that all these Princes should thus conspire against the King for zeale of the common wealth, if other particular greifes had not more mooved them than the misgovernment of the estate.

* To the end the Reader finde it not strange that Rene is here called king of Sicily, sith the house of Arragon possessed the said Realme at that time: it is to be understood that the race of the Normans (who about the yeere 1060 subdued Sicily, Calabria and Apulia: and about the yeere 1102 tooke upon them the title of Kings of Sicily,) being extinct in Roger the last King of Sicily of that race about the [yeere] 1195, the said Realme fell to the issue of the Emperor Fridericus Barbarossa by the mariage of Constantia daughter to Roger the first King of Sicill, and aunt to Roger the last King of Sicill of this race, with Henry the said Barbarossas sonne, in which race it continued, till Manfridus bastard sonne to Fridericus the Emperor, sonne to the above named Henry, obtained the Crowne of Sicill and Naples by dispossessing Conradinus his nephew the true heire thereof. Against this Manfridus Pope Urbanus the 4 called into Italie Charles of Anjou brother to S. Lewis King of Fraunce who slew Manfridus in battell, and afterward executed also Conradinus the true heire of the Crowne, being taken in Battell,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

footemen which were the first that ever came into this realme, and these so valiantly behaved themselves in all places where they came, that they purchased great renowme to their whole nation, which their countreyemen that have served here since, have well maintained. This company the next morning approached neere to us, and passed that day over our bridge, which a man may boldly say convaied over all the power of Fraunce save onely the Kings armie. And I assure you the force was so great of valiant men well appointed, and in very good order, that I wish all the friends and welwillers of the realme had seene it, and likewise the enimies: for by that meanes the former would have esteemed of the realme as it deserved, and the later ever after the more have feared it. The Burgundians that accompanied the Duke of Calabria

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates passed the river of Seine, and encamped before Paris.

comming with an army to conquer the said Realmes of Naples and Sicill as his true inheritance: and thus obtained this Charles of Anjou the Crowne both of Naples and Sicily, till not long after by the comming of Peter King of Arragon, who had married Constantia daughter and heire to Manfridus: The Sicilians arose suddenly against the French, slew them all in one evening, and yelded the Realme of Sicily to the said Peter, whose posteritie ever sithens even till this day have continued in possession thereof. Notwithstanding the posteritie of Charles of Anjou held still the Realme of Naples with the title of the Realme of Sicily, till the time that the later Iane Queene of Naples, to fortifie her selfe against Pope Urbanus Sextus adopted Alfonse of Arragon, sonne to Ferrande King of Arragon, which Ferrandes mother named Elenor was daughter to King Peter: but after the said Iane for displeasure conceived against the said Alfonse adopted secondarily Lewis D. of Anjou, brother to Charles the fift King of Fraunce, descended of the race of the first Charles King of Sicill, against whom and his sonne Lewis, Alfonse long warred, and in the end after Queene Ianes death chased them both out of Italy, and left the Realmes of Arragon and Sicill, to Iohn his brother: but the Realme of Naples to Ferrande his base some, with whom Rene here mentioned (brother to Lewis the 2 of that name D. of Anjou and King of Sicily, and by him with Ianes consent adopted) long warred, but prevailed not: so that Rene had onely the title of Sicily and Naples by the adoption aforesaid, but no possession thereof: for Sicily the Kings of Arragon held ever since the conquest of Peter, and the Realme of Naples Ferrande the bastard held of his fathers gift, from whose posteritie how in the end after many alterations it fell to the house of Arragon that now possesseth it, shall be set downe at large in the wars of Naples made by King Charles the 8 who had the house of Anjous title, whereof our author treateth in the 7 and 8 booke of this historie.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle
of Charolois
and his con-
federates
passed the
river of Seine,
and encamped
before Paris.

were led by the L. of Neuf-chastell Marshall of Burgundie, who had with him his brother the L. of Montague, the Marquisse of Rotelin, and a great number of knights and esquiers: some of the which had been in Bourbonnois, as I have made mention in the beginning of this historie,* but they all joined for their more safetie with the Duke of Calabria, who shewed himselfe to be as noble a Prince, and as good a soldier as any in the companie, whereupon great love and amitie grew betweene him and the Earle of Charolois.

After this whole force (being as I suppose to the number of an hundred thousand horse good and bad) was passed the river, the Princes determined to shew themselves before Paris, wherefore they put all their vawards together. The Burgundians vaward was led by the Earle of S. Paule, and the vaward of the Dukes of Berry and Britaine by Oudet of Rie† afterward Earle of Comminges, and the Marshall Lohcac as I remember, and in this order marched they, but all the Princes remained in the battell. The Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria were very diligent in commanding and giving good order in the armie, and rode very well armed, and shewed that they meant to do their dutie, but the Dukes of Berry and Britaine were mounted upon small ambling nags, and armed with slight brigandines, light and thin, yea and some said they were not plated, but studded onely with a few gilt nailes upon the sattin for the lesse waight, but I will not affirme it for a truth. Thus marched this armie to Pont de Charenton two little leagues from Paris, which was taken incontinent, notwithstanding the resistance of certaine franke archers‡ that were within it: over the said bridge of Char-

* This force led by the Marshall of Burgundie was 4000 men.—Meyer.

† This Oudet is he that acquainted the Duke of Berry with this confederacie, and conveyed him into Britaine.—Meyer, La Marche.

‡ Franck archers were these: King Charles the 7, in the yeere 1449, being destitute of footemen, appointed that every three score houses in his realme should arme a man, who in time of war received paie of the King, and were exempt from all subsidies and payments: for the which cause they were al called francke, that is free, but King Lewis the 11, anno 1480, called these francke archers and waged Switzers in their place.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

enton passed the whole force. The Earle of Charolois lodged in his owne house called Conflans, situate upon the river not far from thence, and inclosed a great peece of ground, with his cariage and artillerie, and lodged his campe within it, and with him lay the Duke of Calabria: but the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, with part of their forces lodged at S. Mor-des-fosses, and the rest they sent to S. Denis being also two leagues from Paris, in the which places this whole companie lay eleven weekes, during the which space these things happened that now I will rehearse.

The next day in the morning began the skirmishes hard at Paris gates, within the towne was the Lord of Nantoillet, L. great Master of Fraunce (who did the King good service there as before I have said) and the Marshall Ioachin. The poore people of the towne were in great feare, but of the better sort some wished the Burgundians and the other Princes within the towne, bicause this enterprise seemed unto them good and profitable for the realme: others there were borne in the said Princes dominions, wherefore they furthered their affaires, hoping by their meanes to obtaine some good offices in the towne, which are more hunted after there than in any other place, and no marvell: for those that are in office make of their offices what they can, not what they ought, which is the cause that some offices in the towne of no fee at all are sold for eight hundred crownes, and other some of very small fee, for more than the fee will amount to in fiftene yeeres. Seldome is any man put out of office: for the Court of parliament alloweth these sales of offices as lawfull, the reason whereof is bicause it is a generall case. Among the Councillors are alwaies a number both of vertuous and woorthy personages.

and also of lewd and evill conditioned persons.
as are in all other estates.

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates passed the river of Seine, and encamped before Paris.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

A discourse of ambitious hunting after offices and estates, by the example of the English men.



I SPEAKE of these offices and estates, bicause in changes they are so greedily desired, and are also cause thereof, as appeareth by that which hath happened not onely in this our age, but also in the time of King Charles the sixt, under whom the wars began that endured till the treatie of Arras, during the which wars the English men entred into the realme, and conquered so far that at the time of the said treatie (which continued * the space of two moneths) the Duke of Bedford brother to Henry the fift King of England, being married to Duke Philip of Burgundies sister, was regent in Fraunce for the English men, whose monethly entertainment in that office amounted to 20000 crownes at the least. At the said treatie were present for the King of Fraunce, foure or five Dukes or Earles, five or six Prelates, and ten or twelve Councillers of the Parliament. For Duke Philip likewise divers noble men † in much greater number, for the Pope 2 Cardinals as mediators, and for the English men divers noble personages. Duke Philip greatly desired to acquite himselfe honorably towards the English men before he would abandon them, bicause of the ancient league that had beene betweene them: wherefore the Duchies of Normandie and Guienne were offered to the

* The last of Iuly arrived French Kings ambassadors at the treaty of Arras,—*Annal. Burg.*; so that the treaty began in the beginning of August, and the English men departed discontented the 6 of September,—*Annal. Burg.*; and the treatie ended the 21 of September, but De la Marche saith the 10 of December,—Meyer, 11 Calen. Octob., which agreeth with *Annal. Burg.*

† At the treaty was present Philip D. of Burgundie himselfe.—*La Marche*, Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

King of England, with condition that he should doe homage for them to the crowne of Fraunce, as his predecessors had done, and restore all the places he held in the Realme out of the said Duchies: which condition the English men because of the homage, refused, but to their great losse, for being abandoned of this house of Burgundie, their good successe altered, and all their intelligences within the Realme failed, whereby their power daily so diminished, that in short space they lost Paris, and by litle and litle all that they held in this Realme. After their returne into England, none of them would diminish his estate, but the offices within the realme sufficed not for maintenance of them all, whereupon long civill wars arose among them, in the which King Henry the sixt, who had been crowned King of England and Fraunce at Paris, was proclaimed traitor, and imprisoned in the tower of London, where he remained the greatest part of his life, and in the end was there murthered. The Duke of Yorke father to King Edward that last died, intituled himselfe right heire to the crowne, and soone after was slaine in battell, and had his head smitten off, as had also the father of the Earle of Warwick* that last died, whose credit was so great in England, and all the rest that were slaine in those wars. The said Earle of Warwick led the Earle of Marche afterward named Edward the fourth, by sea to Calis with a small companie escaped out of battell,† for the Earle

CHAPTER VII

A discourse of ambitious hunting after offices and estates, by the example of the English men.

* Our Chronicles report that the Duke of Yorke with divers others slaine in the battell, and the Earle of Salisbury father to the Earle of Warwick who was taken prisoner in the battell were beheaded, and their heads sent to Yorke in derision: but I remember not that the Earle of Warwick was beheaded after he was slaine, and I am out of doubt that the unskilfull corrector hath here omitted a word or two, and that we must read in place of Luy and le Comte de Warwic, Luy and le pere du Comte de Warwic. Wherefore I have bene bolde to amend the place according to the truth of the historie, lest the Author should be charged with writing an untruth, farther it appeareth by our authors own discourse of King Edwards life lib. 6. ca. 13, that this place is to be read as I have amended it.

† The Earles of Marche and Warwick went to Calice before the Duke of Yorke was slaine, or overthrowen in battell: for they fled from Ludlow lying in campe there against the Kings force, bicause they found themselves too weake, and their counsellse betrayed by Andrew Trowlow who fled from them to the King.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

A discourse
of ambitious
hunting after
offices and
estates, by the
example of
the English
men.

of Warwick tooke part with the house of Yorke, as the Duke of Sommerset did with the house of Lancaster. To be short: these wars endured so long, that all they of the houses of Warwick and Sommerset were either slaine or beheaded in them. King Edward caused afterward his owne brother the Duke of Clarence to be drowned in a Butt of malmesey, charging him that he meant to make himselfe King: but after King Edwards death, his other brother the Duke of Glocester murthered the said Kings two sonnes, proclaimed his daughters bastards, and usurped the crowne. Immediately after the which cruell deede, the Earle of Richmond now King (who had been prisoner many yeeres in Britaine) passed into England, and discomfited and slewe in battell this bloody King Richard, late murtherer of his two nephewes. Thus have there died in England in these civill wars since my remembrance, above fowrescore persons of the blood Royall, part of the which my selfe knew, and part understood of by the Englishmen resident with the Duke of Burgundie at the same time that I served him. Wherefore you see it is not at Paris onely, nor in Fraunce alone that men fall at variance for worldly goods and honors. But sure all Kings and great Princes ought to take heede that they suffer not factions to arise in their Courts, for thereof kindleth the fire that consumeth their whole countrey in the end. Notwithstanding such alterations happen not in mine opinion, but by Gods disposition, for when Princes and Realmes have long florished in great wealth and prosperitie, and forget from whence all these benefits proccede: God raiseth up an enimie against them, whom they never feared nor stood in doubt of as appeereth by the Kings mentioned in the Bible, and by that also which hath hapned and daily doth happen, not onely in England, and in these countries of Burgundie, but in divers other places also.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER VIII

How King Lewis entred into Paris, while
the Princes of Fraunce practised with
the citizens.



HAVE been long in this discourse, and it is now time to returne to the historie. After the Princes were come before Paris, they began to practise with the citizens, promising offices and great rewards to divers, and omitting nothing that might further their affaires. At three daies end the citizens assembled together in the towne hall, where when they had long debated these matters, and heard the Princes requests and demands made openly to them for the benefit of the whole realme (as they pretended :) they determined to send ambassadors to them to treat of peace, according to the which determination a great number of the best citizens came to Saint Mor where the Princes lay, and Master William Chartier then Bishop of Paris, a notable prelate, declared the citizens embassy, and for the Princes the Earle of Dunois was appointed to be mouth. The Duke of Berry the Kings brother was president of this Councell sitting in a chaire, and all the other Princes standing about him. On the one side stood the Dukes of Britaine and Calabria, and on the other the Earle of Charolois armed at all peeces save the head peece and vantbrases, and wearing upon his quirace a short cloke marvellous rich : for he came from Conflans : and Bois-de-Vincennes being well manned was held for the King : wherefore it stood him upon to come armed and well accompanied. The Princes request was to enter into Paris to confer with the citizens about the reformation of the state, which they said was evill governed, charging the King with divers disorders. The citizens gave them very lowly and humble language, desiring

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How King
Lewis entred
into Paris,
while the
Princes of
Fraunce practised with the
citizens.

respite before they could make any resolute answer: yet (notwithstanding this delay) the King was afterward discontented both with the Bishop and the rest that accompanied him. Thus returned these ambassadors into the towne, continuing still their former practise: for every one of the Princes talked with them apart, and I am of opinion that some of them had agreed secretly to suffer the Princes in their owne persons to enter the towne, and their men also (if they so thought good) by small troupes: which practise if it had taken effect, had not onely beene the winning of the towne, but the atchieving of the whole enterprise. For the citizens would easily have been brought for divers considerations to revolt to them, and so consequently all the other townes in the realme. But God put wise counsell into the Kings head, which also he executed accordingly, being already advertised of all these practises.

Before the ambassadors that were returned from the Princes had made their report, the King in person entred the towne of Paris, accompanied like a Prince that cometh to relieve his people: for he brought with him into towne two thousand men of armes, all the Nobles of the Normandie, a great number of franke archers, and all his owne servants, pensioners and others that use to accompanie the King in such affaires. Thus this practise was broken off, and all the people altered their mindes, neither durst any of them that had been with us make farther mention of the Princes demaunds. Some of them also sped but evill for that they had already done, notwithstanding the King used no extremitie towards them,* but some lost their offices, and others were sent to dwell in other places: for the which easie revenge the King undoubtedly deserved great commendation, considering that if this practise begun had taken effect, the best that could have happened to him had been to forsake his realme, which also was his resolution. For as himselfe hath often told me, if he could not have entred into Paris, but had found the towne revolted, he would have retired to the Switzers, or to Francis Duke of

* Yet Meyer writeth that the King afterward poisoned the Bishop, but Meyers words are no Gospell.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How King
Lewis entred
into Paris,
while the
Princes of
Fraunce practised with the
citizens.

launces, stood neere to la Grange aux Merciers, but our scouts rode as neere Paris as was possible, the which were often beaten backe to our watch, and eftsoones (the enimie on their backe) as far as our cariage, retiring sometime a softpace, and sometime a fast trot. Then used we to renforce them with new supplies, which beate backe the enimies hard to the towne gates, and this was daily and howlerly done, for within the towne were above 2500 men of armes in verie good order, and a great number of gentlemen of Normandy, and franke archers, besides that they sawe daily their Ladies which encouraged them to put forth themselves. Our force was also very great, but in horsemen we were not so strong as they, for we had with us onely the Burgundians being about two thousand launces good and bad, nothing so well armed as they within Paris, bicause of the long peace wherein they had lived as before is mentioned, of the which number also two hundred men of armes were at Laigny with the Duke of Calabria, but of footemen we had great force, and those very good. The Britains armie lay at Saint Denys, making war on that side the towne of Paris all the waies they could, and the other noblemen were disparkled some heere some there, to make provision of victuals. In the end the Duke of Nemours, the Earle of Armignac, and the Lord of Albert came to us, but their forces lodged a good way from our campe bicause they had no pay, and should have famished our armie if they had taken ought without money. This I am sure of, that the Earle of Charolois gave them five or sixe thousand franckes, and tooke order that they should come no neerer us. They were at the least five or sixe thousand horse that did marvellous much harme in the countrey.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Milan, whom he accounted his especial friend, and so also the Duke shewed himselfe, as well by the aide he sent him being five hundred men of armes and three thousand footemen under the leading of his eldest sonne Galeas afterward Duke of Milan (who came as far as the countrey of Forrestz in Auvergne, where he made war upon the Duke of Bourbon, and afterward returned home bicause of his fathers death :) as also by the counsell he gave him at the treatie of peace held at Conflans, where he sent him word to refuse no condition of peace, but to sever his companie, and retaine his own forces still about him.

We had hardly been three daies before Paris when the King entred the towne, immediately after whose arrivall sharpe war was made upon us, especially upon our forragers, whom we were constrained to garde with great forces, bicause they went far from our campe. Now to speake somewhat of the towne of Paris, we must needes confesse that it is marvellously well seated in the Ile of Fraunce, seeing the countrey about it was able to victuall two such huge armies: for as touching us we never lacked, and they within the towne found nothing enhaunced, save onely a denier* upon every loafe of bread, the reason whereof was, because we held not the rivers above the towne, being these three, Marne, Yonne, and Seine, besides divers small streames that run into them. Wherefore all things considered this towne is situate in the best and fruitfulest soile that ever I sawe, yea it is almost incredible how great the provision is that commeth thither, my selfe was resident there since the time I now write of, halfe a yeere together with K. Lewis being lodged at the Tournelles, and ordinary eating and lodging in the Court. Since his death also by the space of twentie moneths, full sore against my will I was held prisoner in his pallace, where I saw dayly out of my windowe the provision that came up the streame out of Normandie, and likewise downe the streame, which was so great that I would never have beleved it, had I not seene it.

Divers bands as you have heard issued daily out of Paris, and the skirmishes were great, our watch being of fiftie

* A Denier is the twelfth part of three-halpence starling.

CHAPTER VIII

How King Lewis entred into Paris, while the Princes of Fraunce practised with the citizens.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER IX

How the Earle of Charolois artillerie and the Kings artillerie shot the one against the other neere to Charenton, and how the Earle of Charolois caused another bridge to be built upon boates over the river of Seine.



NOW to returne to the campe before Paris, you may be sure that no day passed without losse on both sides, but no great exploit was done, for the king would suffer no great force to issue out of the towne, neither ment to hazard the battell, but desired peace, and wisely to disparkle this assemblie. Notwithstanding, one morning very early 4000 archers came and encamped along by the river side upon the very banke, directly over against Conflans. The gentlemen of Normandie and certaine of the Kings ordinarie men of armes laie in a village but a quarter of a league from them, and betweene them and their footemen was onely a faire plaine. The river of Seine ran betweene them and us, and they began to dig a trench over against Charenton, which reached in length as far as Conflans to wit to the very end of our campe, directly over against the which, (the river being betweene us and them as you have heard) they built a bulwarke of wood and earth, and thereon mounted great store of artillerie, which at the very first shot chased the Duke of Calabrias men out of the village of Charenton, and forced them in great haste to come and lodge with us with losse both of men and horses. But the Duke of Calabria himselfe lay in a litle house betweene the river and the Earle of Charolois lodging, directly over against the enimies.

This artillerie shot also into our campe, and put the whole armie in great feare, for the very first shot slew certaine of

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the Earle
of Charolois
artillerie and
the Kings
artillerie
shot the one
against the
other neere
to Charenton.

our men, and twise it strake through the Earle of Charolois chamber as he sate at dinner, and slew a trumpetter upon the staires, bearing up a dish of meate. Wherefore after dinner the Earle remooved into a low parlor resolving not to depart thence. The next morning the Princes met at his lodging to consult what was to be done: for they ever sate in counsell there, and at their rising dined also there together. The Dukes of Berry and Britaine sate next to the wall upon the bench, and the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria over against them. The said Earle placed every one of them above himselfe, as reason was he should some of them, yea all of them seeing they were in his lodging. There they devised to countermount all the artillerie in their armie against the Kings, whereof the Earle of Charolois had great store, as had also the Dukes of Calabria and Britaine: for accomplishment of which their purpose, they pearced the wals along the river side behinde Conflans, and there mounted all the best peeces of their artillerie, save the Bombards and the other great peeces which shot not: the rest also they planted in other places where they might do best service, and by this meanes the Princes had much more artillerie on their side than the King on his.

The trench that the French had made was of great length, and they wrought continually upon it, advancing it towards Paris, and casting the earth towards us, thereby to save themselves from our shot: for they lay all in their trench, neither durst one of them peepe out, bicause the medow where they lodged was as plaine as a mans hand. To conclude I never heard in so short space such a number of Canon shot, for we on our side ment to remooove them thence by force of artillerie, but unto them ordinance came daily from Paris, and they plied the matter diligently and spared no powder. A great number in our army digged pits in the ground before their lodging, many also were made to their hands, for it was a place where men had wrought for stone. Thus every man shifted for himselfe the best he could, and three or fower daies we passed in this estate, but the feare was greater on both sides than the losse, for not one man of name was slaine.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

But when the Princes sawe that their enimies dislodged not, they accounted it a thing tending greatly to their dishonor, and also very dangerous: for the Parisians were thereby so greatly encouraged, that one day of truce it seemed all the towne was come foorth to the trenches. Wherefore the Princes concluded as they sate in councell, to make a large bridge of great botes the noses whereof were coupled* together, and the rest covered with plancks, and the last couple nearest to the shore fastened to the ground with great anchors: besides these, a number of other great botes upon the river of Seine were brought thither, wherein they meant to passe over certaine bands to assaile the Kings forces. The charge of this worke was committed to Master Giralde the Master gunner who said, that our bands that passed the river should have great advantage over their enimies, bicause their trenches would be far underneath us, considering that they had throwen the earth on the side toward us, alleaging farther that they durst not issue foorth of their trenches, for feare of our shot, which reasons much encouraged our men, and made them the willinger to passe over. Thus the bridge being finished all save the last couple of botes, which also were upon the point to be fastened to the rest, and all the other botes appointed for conveiance over of our men being likewise in a readinesse: suddenly one of the Kings heralds arrived there, who said to Monsieur de Bonillet and others there present, that we had broken the truce. For bicause that day and the day before were daies of truce, every man that listed came to see what we did, but that night the truce ended. Our bridge was so large that three men of armes with their staves readie to charge, might have passed over it upon a front. Farther there were five or sixe great boates, every one of the which would have conveied over a thousand men at a time, besides a number of lesse botes to passe over the artillerie that should serve in this enterprise. The bands were also named, and their names enroled that should go,

CHAPTER IX

How the Earle of Charolois artillerie and the Kings artillerie shot the one against the other neere to Charenton.

* *Couperoit* in the French is undoubtedly to be read *Coupleroit* as I have here translated it, for to read it *Couperoit* is senselesse; for the better understanding of this place peruse Valturius *de re militari*, lib. 11. pag. 313, where you shall see the right description of this bridge.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the Earle
of Charolois
artillerie and
the Kings
artillerie
shot the one
against the
other neere
to Charenton.

and the Earle of S. Paul, and the Lord of Haultbourdin ordained to leade them. After midnight they that were appointed to this enterprise began to arme themselves, and before day were all in a readines. Some also went and hard masse, and did as good Christians ought to do in such a case. The same night I was my selfe in a great tent in the midst of the armie where the watch stood, being also one of the watch: for no man was excused. The capitaine of the watch was Monseur de Chastell Guyon,* slaine afterward at the battell of Granson.† And as we stood there waiting when this pastime should begin, suddenly we heard the French as they lodged in their trenches cry aloud: Farewell neighbors, farewell, immediately whereupon they set fire on their lodgings and retired their artillerie. The day began to breake, and they that were appointed to this enterprise were already upon the river, at the least part of them, when they saw the enemies a far off retiring to Paris, whereupon they returned all, and unarmed themselves, rejoicing much because of their departure. But you shall understand that the King sent them thither onely to beate our campe with artillerie, not to fight: for he would put nothing in adventure, as before I have said, notwithstanding that his force were sufficient to have encountred with all these Princes joined together, but his onely desire was, as he well declared, to treat of peace, and to sever this company without hazarding his estate and the state of this large and noble realme of Fraunce in battell, than the which nothing can be more uncertaine or dangerous.

Every day they practised on both sides to withdraw men

* This Chastel Gnyon, Chasteau Gnyen, and Chasteau Guyon as our author also afterward nameth him, was the Prince of Orenge some.—La Marche.

† The olde copie saith he was slaine at Morat, but De la Marche, who was at the battell saith at Granson: but here is to be noted that the Chasteau Guyon mentioned by our author, lib. 5. cap. 2, and by *Annal. Burgund.*, that went into Piemont after the battell of Granson was not this, but some or brother to this, which is prooved by Commynes owne words, for in that place he calleth him Monsieur De Chasteau Guyon *qui est de present*, and whether this Chasteau Guyon were slaine at Granson or Morat, he could not be alive in Charles the 8 time, when our author writ. Thus much I have said lest Commynes should seeme to vary from La Marche or rather from himselfe.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

each from other, and divers daies of truce were made, during the which Commissioners sat on both sides to treat of peace at La Grange aux Merciers hard by our campe. For the King, the Earle of Maine with divers others came thither, and for the Princes, the Earle of S. Paul accompanied with divers others in like maner. These Commissioners met often, but no good was done: notwithstanding all that time the truce endured, and a number of both the armies met and communed together at a great ditch in the midway: the one, on the one side: and the others, on the other: for neither partie might passe the ditch, notwithstanding the truce. No day escaped by reason of this meeting and communication, but that ten or twelve, and sometime more, came and yeilded to the Princes, and another day as many went from us to the King: wherefore this place was afterward called the market place, bicause such marchandise was bought and sold there. Now to shew you mine opinion in this case, me thinketh that such meeting and communing together at such times, and in such sort is very dangerous, especially for him that is likest to take the foile: for naturally most men desire to advance themselves, at the least to save themselves: wherefore they will easilie be wonne to turne to the strongest. Some there are I confesse so faithfull and constant, that none of these respects can alter them, but few such are to be found. Farther this danger is then specially to be feared, when we have to doe with a Prince that will endeavor himselfe to winne men: which sure is a great grace of God in any Prince that can frame himselfe thereunto, for it is a token that he is not infected with the foule vice and sinne of pride, which all men detest and abhor. But to conclude this discourse, when a Prince mindeth to treat of peace, he ought to employ therein the faithfullest and trustiest servants he hath, being men of ripe yeeres, lest their lacke of experience cause them either to conclude some dishonorable treaty, or put their master in greater feare at their returne than there is cause why. Farther a Prince ought to commit such affaires rather to those that have received benefit at his hands than to such as never were benefited by him, but especially to wise men, for he shall never make profit by imploing a foole. Besides

CHAPTER IX

How the Earle of Charolois artillerie and the Kings artillerie shot the one against the other neere to Charenton.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the Earle
of Charolois
artillerie and
the Kings
artillerie
shot, etc.

this, such treaties ought to be held rather far from his campe than neere unto it, and when the Commissioners returne, the Prince must give them audience, himselfe alone or in presence of verie fewe, to the end that if their newes be discomfortable, they may be instructed how to answer those that will be inquisitive, for all men will desire to understand newes of them, yea and some of their familiars will thinke that they will hide nothing from them, notwithstanding if they be such men as I have heere described, and know their master to be wise, they will reveale nothing to any man whosoever.

CHAPTER X

A discourse upon certaine vices and vertues
of King Lewis the 11.



AM entred into this discourse because I have seene much treacherie in the world, and many servants deceave their masters, oftentimes through their masters owne fault: for this I dare boldly avowe, that proud and disdainfull Princes, and such as will give audience but to fewe, are oftner abused than those that are courteous, and ready to give eare to every man: wherein sure King Lewis our master surmounted far all the Princes of his time, for he was the wisest Prince in winding himselfe out of trouble and adversitie, the humblest in words, the plainest in apparell, and the greatest traveller to win a man that might do him service or harme that ever I knew. Neither used he to relinquish his sute for the first refusal, but labored the party continually by large promises and liberall gifts, as well of great sums of money, as also of such estates and offices as he knew would content him. And as touching those whom he had banished and withdrawne his favor from in

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER

X

A discourse
upon certaine
vices and
vertues of
King Lewis
the 11.

peace and prosperitie : he bought them deerely againe when he needed them, and imployed them in his service, cleane forgetting all offences passed. He loved naturally men of meane estate, and was enemie to all such as needed not to depende upon him : never Prince gave audience to so many men, never Prince was inquisitive of so many matters, nor desirous to be acquainted with so many strangers as he, whereby he knew aswell all that were in authoritie and estimation in England, Spaine, Portugale, Italie, and the Seniories of Burgundie and Britaine, as his owne subjects. And by these vertues preserved he his estate, which stood in great danger at his first comming to the crowne, bicause of the enimies himselve had procured to himselve. But his great liberalitie especially served him to good purpose, for as in adversitie he wisely behaved himselve, so contrariwise in time of peace or truce, he lightly fell out with his servants, by picking trifling quarels to them, and such was his disposition, that he could hardly away with peace or quietnes. In his talke he spared no man, neither absent nor present, save such as he feared, which were many, for naturally he was very fearfull. Farther, when his talke had either turned him to displeasure, or was like so to do, he would endeavor himselve to amend the matter, by using these or such like words to the partie offended : I know well that my toong hath wrought me much displeasure, but it hath also oftentimes stood me in great stead, notwithstanding reason it is that I should repaire the injurie done, and when he used this familiar speech, he ever gave withall some great present to the partie grieved. Sure the knowledge of good and evill is a great gift of God to a Prince, I meane when the good surmounteth the evill, as it did in the King our Master, who in mine opinion was much bettered by the trouble he sustained in his youth, when he fled from his father and sojourned with Duke Philip of Burgundy the space of sixe yeeres :* for he was constrained

* King Lewis departed from his father into Daulphine anno 1447, and there remained till the yeere 1456, at the which time bicause of the force his father sent thither against him, he was constrained to flie to the Duke of Burgundy where he remained till the yeere of his coronation, which was in the yeere 1461.—*Annal. Burgund.*, De la Marche, Meyer.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER X

A discourse
upon certaine
vices and
vertues of
King Lewis
the 11.

there to frame himselfe to the humor of those whom he stood in neede of, which singular vertue adversitie taught him. But after his fathers death, when he came first to the state he thought onely upon revenge, but soone felt the smart thereof, and therefore forthwith altered his minde, acknowledged his error, repaired the harmes done, and sought to recover by large benefits those whom he had offended, as heerafter you shall perceive. And I thinke verily he should never have wound himselfe out of those troubles had not his education been better than noble mens commonly is in this realme, who are brought up altogether in wantonnes and dissolutenes, as well in their apparell as in their talke, they are utterly unlearned, there is not one wise man about them: they have governors that dispose of all their affaires, but themselves do nothing: yea some noble men there are hardly of fower nobles rent that glorie in saying, Speake to my servants, thinking thereby to imitate great Princes. But I have often seene their servants so make their profit of them, that their folly hath thereby appeered to the whole world. And if any of them happen at the length to looke about him, and to attend to his owne busines, it is so late that it serveth almost to no purpose: for all those that have been great or done great things, began in their tender age, which vertue proceedeth either of their bringing up, or of the grace of God.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XI

How the Burgundians lying neere to Paris, and looking for the battell, supposed great thistles to have been launces held upright.



HAVE been long in this discourse, but it serveth to so good purpose that sooner I could not end it. Now to returne to the wars, you have heard how these archers that lay in the trench along upon the river of Seine, dislodged at the very instant that we should have assailed them. The truce never endured past a day or two, and when it ended sharpe war began againe, and the skirmishes continued from morning till night, but no great force issued forth of the towne, notwithstanding they bett backe our scoutes oftentimes whom we ever releevd with new supplies. There passed no day without some skirmish great or small, and I thinke the King would have had them greater, had it not been bicause he was jelous of divers though needlesly. I have heard him say that one night he found the posterne of Saint Anthonies bastile towards the fields wide open, which put him in suspicion of Master Charles of Melun, whose father kept the place, yet sure a faithfuller servant than the said Charles that yeere the King had none.

One day they within Paris determined to issue forth to fight with us, of the which enterprise I suppose the King understood nothing, but it was onely his captaines resolution, they meant to assaile us three severall waies, their greatest band should have come from Paris, another from Pont de Charenton, which two could not greatly have endamaged us, and the third appointed to be two hundred men of armes from Bois-de-Vincennes. Of this resolution we were advertised about midnight by a Page that told us

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XI

How the
Burgundians
supposed
great thistles
to have been
launces held
upright.

this newes as lowd as he could crie from the other side of the river, by commandement of the Princes friends within the towne, some of the which also he named and so departed. By breake of day issued foorth Master Poncet of Riviere before Pont de Charenton, and the Lord of Lau on the other side from Bois-de-Vincennes even hard to our artillerie, where they slue one of our gunners. The alarme was great in our campe: for we supposed this to be the enterprise, whereof the Page advertised us over night. The Earle of Charolois was soone armed, yet not so soone as Iohn Duke of Calabria, for at all alarmes he was the first man armed, and that at all points, and his horse ever barded. Moreover he ware such a garment as the famous men of war use in Italy, and shewed himselfe both a noble Prince, and a woorthy Captaine: he rode straight to the barriers of our campe to staie our men from issuing foorth, where he was well obeyed as the Earle of Charolois himselfe: yea the whole armie obeyed him more willingly than any man in the companie, of the which honor undoubtedly he was woorthie. Incontinent our whole force was in armes and stood in order of battell within our cariage, all save two hundred horse that kept our watch abroad. To be short this day we looked assuredly for the battell, but never before nor after. Soone after the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria, arrived the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, whom I never sawe armed but this day onely. The Duke of Berry was armed at all points: notwithstanding they were but weakely accompanied, in the which estate they passed through the campe, and rode foorth to the Lords of Charolois and Calabria where they communed together. Our scoutes being reinforced, rode as neere Paris as they could, and discovered a great number of our enimies scouts, comming to learne what noise this was in our armie. Our artillery shot terribly when Monsieur de Lau approched so neere us: the King also had good peeces upon Paris wals, that shot into our campe which was strange: for we lay two leagues from the towne, but I thinke the peeces were mounted to the most advantage. This thundering of the artillerie, caused both the parties to thinke some great enterprise to be towards:

PHILIP DE COMMINES

The day was very darke and cloudie, and our scouts approaching neer to Paris, discovered many enimies abroad in the field, and a good way beyond them, a number of launces held upright (as they supposed,) which they judged to be the kings whole force, and all the people of Paris issued foorth of the towne in order of battell: which imagination the darknes of the heavens put into their head. They returned foorthwith to the Princes being yet without our campe, and advertised them of this newes, assuring them of the battell. The scouters that were issued foorth of Paris approached still neerer and neerer to our campe, because they sawe ours retire: which thing so much the more increased in our scouters their former imagination. Then came the Duke of Calabria to the place where a great number of the Earle of Charolois houshold servants stood to accompanie his standard and his banner readie to be displaid, and the guidon of his armes according to the custome of the house of Burgundie, and there the said Duke of Calabria spake thus to us all: We have now our desire, for the King is issued foorth with his whole force, and marcheth forward as our scouters tell us. Wherefore let us determine to play the men. So soone as they be out of the towne we will enter, and measure with the long ell,* and with such like words rode he about encouraging the companie. Our scouters at the length perceiving the enimies to be but weake recovered their spirits, and rode againe towards Paris, where they discovered these battels in the selfesame place they left them: whereupon they entred into a new cogitation what they might be, but when they approched neere to them (the day being broken up and cleere) they perceived them to be high thistles, whereupon they rode hard to the towne gates, and found not a man abroad, whereof incontinent they advertised the Princes, who upon this newes went to masse and afterward to dinner: but our scouters were ashamed of their first advertisement, notwithstanding the darknes of the day, together with the message of the Page brought unto us over night, somewhat excused them.

* By the long ell he meaneth the pike, wherewith souldiers at the sacke of a towne use to measure velvets, silks, and cloths.

CHAPTER XI

How the
Burgundians
supposed
great thistles
to have been
launces held
upright.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

How the King and the Earle of Charolois met together to treat of peace.



THE treatie of peace continued still, betwene the King and the Earle of Charolois especially, because the principall force of both the armies was theirs. The Princes demands were great: namely the Duke of Berries, who required al Normandy for his partage, which the King would by no meanes condescend unto. The Earle of Charolois demanded the townes situate upon the river of Somme: namely, Abbeville, Amiens, Saint Quintin, Peronne, and the rest that King Charles the 7 had engaged by the treatie of Arras to D. Philip of Burgundie, of whom King Lewis had redeemed them for the summe of fower hundred thousand crownes, not past three months before: but the Earle of Charolois alledged that during his life, the King could not redeeme them,* putting him alwaies in remembrance how much he was beholding to the house of Burgundy, which received him when he fled from King Charles his father, furnished him of money to maintaine his estate the space of sixe yeeres,† and accompanied him at his coronation to Reimes and Paris,‡ wherefore the Earle of Charolois tooke the redeeming of these townes in very evill part. This treatie of peace was so followed, that one morning the King came by water directly over against our campe, leaving his horsemen that accompanied him upon the river side, and

* The Earles meaning was, that the King could not redeeme them during the said Earles life, because they were engaged to Duke Philip and his heires males.

† The Duke of Burgundie allowed the Dolphin being in his countries monethly 3000 florins for his entertainment. —Meyer.

‡ King Lewis was crowned anno 1461, Augusti 14.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

having in the barge with him besides the water men that rowed, onely fower or five persons, namely Monsieur Du Lau, Monsieur De Montauban then admiral of Fraunce, and Monsieur De Nantouillet, with one or two more. The Earles of Charolois and Saint Paul stood on the other side of the river to receive the King, who said thus to the Earle of Charolois, Brother doe you assure me in the word of a Prince, (for the Earles first wife was the Kings sister : *) whereunto the Earle answered, Yea sir as one brother should assure another. Then the King and his companie landed, the two Earles receiving him honorably according to his estate, and he having words at will, began thus and said : Brother, I know you to be a gentleman and of the house of Fraunce : Why sir ? quoth the Earle. Bicause said the K. when I sent of late mine Ambassadors to mine uncle your father, and you to Lisle, where my foolish chancellor Morvillier so much misbehaved himself toward you : you sent me word by the Archbishop of Narbonne (who is a gentleman as his behaviour there well declared,) that before a yeere expired I should repent me of the proud language the said Morvillier there used. You have kept promise in deed, and that long before your day : which words the King spake with a merrie cheerefull countenance knowing his nature with whom he talked to be such, that they would please him well, as undoubtedly they did. Then the King proceeded farther saying, I love to deale with men that keepe promise. Afterward he disavowed Morvilliers words, saying that he had spoken beyond his commission. To be short the King walked a long time betweene these two Earles : a great number of the Earle of Charolois souldiers in armes standing by, and marking diligently their behaviour. At this meeting the Earles required the Dutchie of Normandie, and the townes situate upon the river of Somme, with divers other

CHAPTER XII

How the King
and the Earle
of Charolois
met together
to treat of
peace.

* The Kings sister that married the Earle was named Catherine, but he had no issue by hir,—*Annal Burgund.*, Meyer. His second wife was Isabell daughter to Charles D. of Bourbon, by whom he had issue a daughter named Marie, which also was his heire. His third wife was Margaret sister to Edward the 4, King of England, by whom also he had no issue.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

How the King
and the Earle
of Charolois
met together
to treat of
peace.

particular demands for themselves, and certeine overtures lately treated of for the common wealth of the realme, but upon those they stood lest, for the weale publique was now turned into wealth private. As touching Normandie the King would hardly heare thereof, but he granted the Earle of Charolois demaunds, and for his sake offered the Earle of S. Paule the office of Constable: which communication ended, the King tooke barge and returned to Paris, and the Earles to Conflans, departing each from other in very courteous and loving manner.

Thus passed we the time, sometime in peace and sometime in war, but notwithstanding that the treatie of peace at la Grange aux Merciers where the Commissioners used to sit, were cleane broken off on both sides: yet continued still the communication above mentioned betweene the King and the Earle of Charolois, and messengers went betweene them notwithstanding the war: for the Earle sent to the King William of Bische and Guillot Diusie, being both his owne servants, but yet beholding to the King: for when Duke Philip had banished them, the King at the Earle of Charolois request entertained them. Many misliked these sendings to and fro, so far forth that the Princes began now to mistrust and abandon each other, in such sort that had not one thing happened soone after,* they had all departed with great dishonor. Twise I sawe them hold three severall assemblies in one chamber where they were together, where-with the Earle of Charolois was marvellously offended: for he thought, seeing the greatest force of this armie was his, that they did him wrong to sit in counsell in his chamber, he being present, without calling him to it: wherefore he debated this matter with the Lord of Contay a very wise gentleman, who advised him to take it patiently, bicause if he should alienate their mindes from him they could better make their peace than he, adding that as he was the strongest, so ought he to be the wisest, and farther counselling him to do his endeavor by all meanes possible for their continuance together in friendship, and in no wise to fall at variance with them, but to digest and winke at all

* He meaneth the taking of Roan mentioned in the next chapter.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

these disorders. Lastly he told him that all men woondered, yea his owne servants, that so meane personages as the two above named were imploied in so weighty affaires: alleaging great danger to be therein, considering how liberall a Prince he was with whom he had to deale. True it is that this Contay hated William of Bische, notwithstanding heerein he spake but as others did, and I thinke verily not upon malice but as the case required. The Earle of Charolois followed his advise, and began to sport and pastime with the Princes otherwise than he had been accustomed, to shew them a cheerfull countenance, and to commune oftener both with them and their servants, and sure so was it requisite: for they stood even upon the point to sever themselves. A wise man doth good service in such a companie, if he may be credited, neither can he be valued too deere, but I never knew Prince in my life that could finde the difference between man and man til he stood in need of men: and if any happily do, yet make they no account of a wise man, but place in authoritie about them those whom they favor better, either because they are of equall yeeres with them, or seeke in all things to feede their humors, wherein they are often nuzled by the furtherers of their wanton pleasures. But wise Princes will soone reforme themselves when neede requireth, such as were the King our master, the Earle of Charolois at that time, King Edward of England, and divers others: but these three especially I have seene at so lowe an ebbe, that they have stood in great neede of those whom before they despised. Notwithstanding as touching the Earle of Charolois, after he was Duke of Burgundie, and highlier advanced by fortunes favor than ever was any of his predecessors, and growen so great that he feared no Prince of his estate, God overthrew him in all his glorie: and so bereaved him of his wits, that he contemned all mens counsell but his owne, wherby he miserably ended his life, with a great number of his servants and subjects, leaving his house desolate as you see.

CHAPTER XII

How the King
and the Earle
of Charolois
met together
to treat of
peace.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIII

How the citie of Roan by practise was put into the Duke of Bourbons hands, for the D. of Berry, and how the treatie of Conflans was fully concluded.



YOU shal now understand what mooved me to discourse so long of the dangers depending upon these treaties, and why I advised Princes to be wise and circumspect whom they imploy in them, especially him that hath the woorse end of the staffe. For while the commissioners sat to treat of peace, by means wherof men met and communed together : in steede of treating of peace some practised to yeld the Duchie of Normandy to the Kings only brother the Duke of Berry, to the end he might there take his partage, and restore Berry to the King, which enterprise was also executed accordingly, for the Lady of Brezey, the late Seneschall of Normandies widow, and certaine of hir kinsfolkes and servants by hir perswasion, received Iohn Duke of Bourbon into the castell of Roan, and finally into the towne, the which willingly consented to this mutation, as did also all the other townes and places in the cuntry, a few excepted. For the Normans have ever been and yet are of opinion, that it is requisite for them (their cuntrye being so large) to have their Prince resident among them, neither desire they any thing more : and sure it is a goodly thing and a rich : for my selfe have knowen the revenues thereof nine hundred and fiftie thousand franks,* and some say they are greater.

After the towne was revolted, all the inhabitants gave their oth to the Duke of Bourbon as the Duke of Berries

* That is 118750 pounds sterling.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

lieutenant, save the bailiffe of the towne named Onaste (who had been a grooms of the Kings chamber in Flaunders and neere about him) and another called William Piquart, afterward generall of Normandie, and the high Seneschall of Normandie that now is, who also departed to the King against his mothers will, who (as you have heard) was the chiefe author of the citizens revolt. When the King heard this newes he resolved to make peace, seeing he could not undoo that was already done. Wherefore incontinent he sent word to the Earle of Charolois being in his campe, that he would gladly speake with him, and appointed the hower when he would meete him in the fields by Conflans, neere to the said campe, at which hower he came, accompanied with an hundred horse, all in maner Scottish men of his garde. The Earle of Charolois met him with a small traine without any ceremonie, notwithstanding many of his servants went after him, so that in the end his companie was greater than the Kings, but he caused them to stay a pretie way off, and when the King and he had walked together a while, the King told him that the peace was already made, and advertised him of all that was hapned at Roan (whereof the Earle as yet understood nothing) adding that notwithstanding he would never willingly have granted his brother so large a partage : yet now seeing the Normans themselves had made this mutation, he would agree thereunto, and passe the treatie in maner and forme, as before at divers meetings was devised, for as touching the other articles they had to agree upon, they were but trifles. The Earle of Charolois was glad of these newes, for his armie lay in great distresse of vittailles, but more of money, and had not this hapned, all these Princes had been forced to depart with great dishonor. Notwithstanding to the Earle of Charolois the same day, or within two or three daies after came a new releefe both of men and money, sent him by Duke Philip his father out of Burgundie, under the leading of the Lord of Saveuses, being six score men of armes, and fiftene hundred archers, and six score thousand crownes upon ten sumpter horses, with great store of bowes and arrowes, which furnished reasonably well the Burgundians

CHAPTER XIII

How the
citie of Roan
by practise
was put into
the Duke of
Bourbons
hands.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIII

How the
citie of Roan
by practise
was put into
the Duke of
Bourbons
hands.

armie, who stood in great doubt that the other princes would make peace without them.

This communication of peace pleased so well both the King and the Earle of Charolois, and so desirous they were (as I have heard the Earle himselfe say,) to conclude the treatie, that they marked not which way they walked, but rode straight toward Paris, so far forth, that they entred into a great bulwarke of wood and earth, that the King had caused to be made a good way without the towne, at the end of a trench, by the which lay a way into the towne. The Earle was accompanied only with fower or five persons, who were much abashed when they saw themselves within the bulwarck : notwithstanding himselfe set a good face on the matter. But when this newes came to the campe the whole armie began to mutter, and the Earle of S. Paul, the marshall of Burgundie, the Lord of Contay, the Lord of Hault-bourdin, and divers others assembled together, blaming greatly both the Earle, and those that accompanied him of this follie, and alleadging the inconvenience that hapned to his grandfather at Montereau-faut-Yonne in the presence of King Charles the seventh. Wherefore incontinent they commanded all the soldiers that were walking abroad in the fields to retire into their campe. And the marshall of Burgundie surnamed Neuf-chastel said thus : Though this foolish hare-brained young Prince be gone to cast away himselfe : yet let us provide that his house, his fathers estate, and we our selves fall not into danger : wherefore mine advise is that every man repaire to his lodging, and be in a readines, banishing all feare whatsoever happen. For we are strong inough if we sever not, to retire to the marches of Henault, or Picardie, or into Burgundie. When he had thus said, he and the Earle of Saint Paul mounted on horsebacke, and walked out of the campe to see if they could descrie any body comming from Paris : where after they had stooode a while, they discovered fortie or fiftie horses being certaine of the Kings servants, as well archers as others that waited back upon the Earle of Charolois : who so soone as he perceived these two approach, caused the French to returne : he stood in awe of the marshall, bicause he used to give him very sharpe

PHILIP DE COMMINES

language, neither feared sometimes to tell him that he was but lent him during his fathers life. Wherefore minding now to prevent him, he said thus : Chide me not, I acknowledge my great follie, but I was hard by the bulwarke before I wist. But this notwithstanding the marshal said more to his face, then he had spoken behinde his backe, and sure he was a faithfull and trustie knight. The Earle answered nothing but held downe his hed, and entred into his campe where they were all glad of his returne, and commended the Kings faith : and sure it is to be thought that both the King and the Earle had great regarde of their honor, considering that each of them putting himselfe into others hands : Yet neither of them received harme, notwithstanding the Earle never after returned under the Kings power.

CHAPTER XIII

How the citie of Roan by practise was put into the Duke of Bourbons hands.

CHAPTER XIV

How the treatie of peace was concluded betweene the King and the Earle of Charolois and his confederates.



N the end all matters were fully concluded, and the next day as the Earle of Charolois was making his musters to knowe what number he had lost : suddenly the King accompanied with thirtie or fortie horse, came thither without warning given, and rid about to view all the bands one after another, save the marshals of

Burgundie who loved him not : bicause not long before the King having once given him Pinal in Lorain, tooke it afterward againe from him to bestow upon Iohn Duke of Calabria greatly to the said marshals damage. The King (acknowledging his error) by little and little reconciled himselfe to the wise and valiant knights that had served the King his father,

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIV

How the
treatie of
peace was
concluded
betweene the
King and the
Earle of
Charolois.

and whom he at his first comming to the crowne had displaced, wherefore they were with the Princes in armes against him. Farther it was agreed that the next day the King should come to the Castell of Vincennes, and likewise all the Princes that were to do him homage: for whose safetie the said Castell should be put into the Earle of Charolois hands, according to which agreement the next morning thither came the King, and likewise all the Princes none being absent, the porche and gate being manned with Burgundians well armed: there the treatie of peace was concluded.* The Lord Charles did the King homage for the Duchie of Normandie, and the Earle of Charolois for the townes in Picardie above mentioned, as did also all the rest that had homage to do, and the Earle of S. Paul tooke his othe for the office of Constable: but according to the common proverbe, never was so plentifull a marriage feast, but some departed undined, for heere some had what them lusted, and others nothing. The King received into his service certaine gentlemen that were with his brother, and also certaine meane persons, but the greatest part remained stil with his said brother the new Duke of Normandie and the Duke of Britaine, who went to Roan to take possession. At their departure from the Castell of Vincennes they tooke their leave each of other, and

* The treatie was sworne the fift of October, the conditions whereof reade in Meyer, fol. 337, where he saith, that by this treatie Flaunders was exempt fro the Kings soveraigntie, which saith Degrassalius, cap. 1, pag. 6, the King could not grant, *Quia ultimus resortus alienari aut remitti non potest*: which also may well appeere to be law, bicause we reade lib. 5. cap. 17 of our author, that notwithstanding this treatie, the Chauncellor of Burgundie and Himbercourt being imprisoned and condemned by the citizens of Gaunt, appealed to the Parliament of Paris, which appeale notwithstanding whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, or whether they appealed to delay the time for safety of their lives, hoping their friends would deliver them, or the King happily, thereby to recover his former soveraigntie: I leave heere to discusse. Notwithstanding if any such condition were in the treatie of Conflans, as Meyer reporteth, in my simple judgement these two wise men would not have appealed contrarie to it, and thereby have made the cause of their death just though before unjust, by violating this privilege, and so infringing the liberties of the state of Flaunders obtained by this treatie of the King.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

returned to their lodgings: farther, all letters, pardons, and other writings serving for the confirmation of the peace were made. On one day departed all these three Princes, the Duke of Normandy and Britaine first into Normandy, and the Duke of Britaine from thence into his owne countrie, and the Earle of Charolois into Flaunders. But when the Earle was readie to take horse, the King meaning effectually to shew how greatly he desired his friendship, came to him and accompanied him to Villiers-le-bell, a village fower leagues from Paris, where both these Princes lodged that night. The Kings traine was very small, but he commanded two hundred men of armes to follow him to convey him backe: whereof the Earle of Charolois being advertised as he went to bed, fell into great suspicion thereof, and commanded a great number of his servants to be in armes. Thus you see how impossible it is for two great Princes to agree, bicause of the suspicious tales and reports that are daily and howerly beaten into their heads. Wherefore two Princes that desire to continue in friendship ought never to come together, but to imploy vertuous and wise men betwene them, who will encrease their amitie, and repaire all such breaches as shall happen.

The next morning the two Princes tooke their leave each of other with much courteous and wise talke, and the King returned to Paris accompanied with the men of armes above mentioned, called thither for that purpose, whereby he remooved all suspicion the Earle had conceived of their comming. The said Earle rode towards Compiengne and Noyon, being received by the Kings commandement into all the townes he passed by. From thence he marched to Amiens where they did him homage, as did also all the other townes upon the river of Somme, and the territories in Picardy restored to him by this treatie, which the King not past nine moneths before had redeemed for the summe of fower hundred thousand crownes, as before you have heard. This done, he marched incontinent into the countrie of Liege, bicause they had by the space of five or sixe moneths made war upon his father in his absence, in the countries of Namur and Brabant, where also

CHAPTER XIV

How the
treatie of
peace was
concluded
betwene the
King and the
Earle of
Charolois.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIV

How the
treatie of
peace was
concluded
betweene the
King, etc.

they had slaine certaine of his subjects:* but bicause the winter approched he could do no great exploit, notwithstanding a number of villages were burnt, and divers small overthrowes given to the said Liegeois, whereupon they made a treatie with the Duke of Burgundie, and for performance thereof stood bound to him in a great summe of mony. This done, the Earle of Charolois returned into Brabant.

* The King perswaded the Liegeois to rebell in Iune 1465, which was the same sommer the Earle of Charolois was in France, thereby to withdraw the Earle of Charolois out of France home, whereupon the Liegeois about mid August defied the Duke of Burgundie, and hung his sons image on a gibbet with vile reprochfull words. Reade *Annal. Burgund.* fol. 900 and Meyer fol. 337 pag. 2, but soone after, namely 19 Octob. the same yeere the Duke of Burgundie by the conduct of the Earle of Nassau the Seneschal of Hainault, the Lords of Grutuse, Gasebecque, and Rubempre gave them an overthrow at Montenac where they lost 2200 men: wherefore seeing their forces broken, and the Earle of Charolois returned home, they desired peace which they obtained 22 Ianuarij anno 1466 as our author in this chapter maketh mention, and likewise Meyer fol. 338 and *Annal. Burgund.* fol. 909, where also reade the conditions of the peace, but this peace the same yeere about Iune they brake againe, by aiding them of Dinand, as in the second booke our author setteth forth at large.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XV

How by the division that hapned betweene the
Dukes of Britaine and Normandie, the King
recovered the said Duchie which he
had given his brother.



NOW to returne to the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine, who after their departure from Bois-de-Vincennes, went together as you have heard to take possession of Normandie. You shal understand that immediately after their entrie into Roan, they fell at variance about partition of the bootie,* for the knights above mentioned were yet with them, who being accustomed under King Charles the seventh, to live in great authoritie, and enjoy goodly offices: thought now, seeing this enterprise at an end, and themselves unrestored to the Kings favor, to be advanced by the new Duke of Normandie, wherefore they gaped for the best offices in the countrie as due to them. On the other side the Duke of Britaine thought it reason that part of them should be at his disposition, bicause the greatest burden of these wars had lien upon his shoulders. To be short, the fire so kindled betweene them, that the Duke of Britaine for safetie of his person was forced to retire to mont S. Katherine neere to Roan, where also the Duke of Normandies men with the citizens of Roan were about to besiege him, so that in the end he was forced to retire the high way to Britaine. Of this deviation the King being advertised, furthered it I warrant you to the uttermost of his power (for he was master in this Arte) and in the meane time approched with his armie neere to the countrie, wherupon those that held the strong places began to yeeld them to him, thereby

* He meaneth by the bootie, the offices in Normandie.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

XV

How the King recovered the said Duchie which he had given his brother.

to recover his favor. I speake of these matters upon the Kings owne report, for my selfe was not present at them. But to proceed, the King practised with the D. of Britaine (who held certaine of the strong places in base Normandie *) utterly to abandon his brother, for conclusion whereof they were together a certaine space at Caen, where they made a treatie, by the which, the said towne of Caen and divers other places remained in the L. of Lescuts hands, with a certaine number of soldiers in pay, but this treatie was so confused, that I thinke neither partie understood it throughly well. Thus returned the Duke of Britaine into his owne countrey, and the King bent his whole force against his brother the Duke of Normandie, who seeing himselfe unable to withstand him, and that the King had already taken Pont de l'Arche and divers other places in the countrie, determined to flie into Flaunders. The Earle of Charolois was yet at Sainctron,† a little towne in the countrie of Liege, where he was marvellously busied, for his armie was all broken and out of order, and part thereof, notwithstanding the winter, in war against the Liegeois. This variance betweene the two Dukes above mentioned much troubled him, for he desired nothing more then to see a Duke of Normandie, bicause thereby the King should lose the third foote of his realme: wherefore he levied men in Picardie to put into Dieppe, but before they were readie, he that held the towne yeelded it by composition to the King, who by this means recovered all the Duchie of Normandie save those places that the Lord of Lescut held by the treatie of Caen.

* The places the Duke of Britaine held, were Caen, Avaranches, Litiex, etc.

† Some copies have Saint Oen, but the old copie and De la Marche Sainctron, some call it Centron, and Saint Truden as saith Guicci. Hubertus nameth it in Latine *Centrones*, Berlandus, *funum Trudonis*, but corruptly saith Hubertus: the ancient name in deede is Centrones, wherefore it is to be read Centron or Sainctron, but not Saint Oen.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XVI

How the new Duke of Normandie returned into Britaine in very poore estate, and utterly discouraged, bicause he had failed of his enterprise.



THE Duke of Normandie was once determined (as you have heard) to flie into Flaunders, but at that very instant the Duke of Britaine and he reconciled themselves, acknowledging both of them their errors, and well perceaving all good things by division to perish and come to naught.

And sure in mine opinion it is almost impossible, that many Princes of equall estate being together should long continue in friendship and amitie, unlessse they have superior over them, who also must be wise and well esteemed, to the end he may hold them in due obedience. I have my selfe seene many examples heereof, and therefore speake not upon hearesay. Besides that, common experience prooveth that we are all naturally inclined to fall at variance to our owne harme, not regarding the inconveniences that ensue thereof, which is a generall fault through the whole world. Wherefore in mine opinion a wise Prince having ten thousand men at his commandement, and knowing how to governe them, is more to be feared and esteemed than six Princes confederate together, with each of them ten thousand, bicause so many matters fall in question betweene them, that all good occasions are lost, before they can resolve upon any thing.

Thus returned the Duke of Normandie into Britaine in very poore estate, and utterly abandoned of all the Knights above mentioned that had served the King his father. For they made their peace with the King, and were better entertained by him than ever they had beene in his fathers time.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XVI

How the
new Duke of
Normandie
returned into
Britaine in
very poore
estate.

These two Dukes were wise after the hurt received (as the common proverbe saith of the Britons) and lived together in Britaine, being governed by the Lord of Lescut their principall servant. And divers ambassadors ran betweene the King and them, and betweene them and the Earle of Charolois, and likewise between the King and the Duke of Burgundy, some to learne newes, some to corrupt one anothers servants and subjects, and some for divers other evill purposes, and all under colour of good faith. Some also went with good intent trusting to pacifie these troubles, which sure was great simplicitie in them to thinke themselves wise and sufficient ynough by their presence to appease Princes so great, so subtile, and so well acquainted with all sorts of fine practises as these were, especially neither partie inclining to reason. But some there are so blinded with vaine glorie, that they thinke themselves able to deale in matters that oftentimes they understand not: for their Masters do not alwaies discover to them the bottom of their thoughts. To such it often happeneth that they go but to furnish the feast, yea many times to their owne cost: for ever one by-fellow or other accompanieth them, that hath some secret practise apart, at the least thus have I seene the matter ordered at all times and in all places where I have been. Wherefore as I said before, that Princes ought to be circumspect whom they imploy in their affaires: so say I now, that those that are imployed ought to take heede how they negotiate in Princes businesses. And who so can shift off the charge, unlesse he understand it thoroughly well, and perceive his Master to be well affected thereunto, is to be accounted wise: for I have knowen many a good man in a pecke of troubles with such affaires. Princes also I have seene of two contrarie dispositions, the one so subtile and suspicious, that a man can never be acquainted with their humor, for they thinke all the world bent to deceive them: the other trust their servants well ynough, but themselves are so grosse and understand so little of their owne affaires, that they knowe not who doth them good service or bad, whereby they alter their mindes in a moment from love to hatred, and from hatred to love. And notwithstanding that of either

PHILIP DE COMMINES

sort few are good and constant : yet I for my part had rather live under the wise than the foolish : bicause there are more waies to avoid their displeasure, and recover their favour lost : but with the ignorant a man can devise no shift, for no man dealeth with themselves in any matter, but altogether with their servants, whome also they change as oft as the winde. Notwithstanding in those countries where such Princes raigne, all men are of dutie bound to serve and obey them. Wherefore all things considered, our onely hope ought to be in God : for he alone is constant, he onely is good : but this lesson we learne too late : yea never before we neede his helpe, notwithstanding it is better late than never.

CHAPTER
XVI

How the
new Duke of
Normandie
returned into
Britaine in
very poore
estate.

THE SECOND BOOKE

CHAPTER I

Of the wars betweene the Burgundians and
Liegeois, and how the towne of Dinand
was taken, sacked, and rased.



IMMEDIATELY after these troubles above mentioned, ended in France, the Duke of Burgundy yeere by yeere had war with the Liegeois, against whom when the King sawe him busied: he usually attempted some enterprise against the Britons, sending also some small aide to the said Liegeois: wherupon the Duke forthwith either turned his force against the King to succour his confederates, or they concluded some treatie or truce. Now you shall understand that in the yeere 1466 Dinand was taken by the Duke of Burgundie,* being a towne in the country of Liege strong and rich for the bignes therof, by reason of their great trade of copper works, commonly called Dinandrie, being pots, pans, and such like implements. Philip Duke of Burgundie (who died in the moneth of Iune the yeere 1467) in his extreme age was borne thither in a litter, so much hated he the said towne, bicause of their great crueltie used against his subjects in the countie of Namur,

* The peace made the 22 of Ianuarie, ann. 1466, whereof mention is made in the 14 Chap. of the last booke, about Iune the same yeer, the Liegeois brake as heere is rehearsed, and againe they hung up the image of the Duke and his son, with the most barbarous insolencie that ever was heard of. Read *Annal. Burgund.*, pag. 911 and 912, and Meyer, pag. 338, where also their intolerable crueltie is described.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

especially against a little towne called Bouvines, situate within a quarter of a league of Dinand, and severed onely with the river of Maze. For not long before the time I now write of, they of Dinand besieged the said towne of Bouvines (the river running betweene*) the space of eight moneths, committed many cruel murthers in the countrie thereabout, and shot all that space continually with two Bombards, and other great peeces of artillerie into the towne: so that the poore people were constrained to save themselves in their sellers, and there to abide. It is almost incredible how great hatred was betweene these two townes, notwithstanding that their children usually married together, bicause there was no other good towne neere them.

The yeere before the destruction of Dinand being the same sommer, the Earle of Charolois came before Paris with the Princes of Fraunce as before you have heard: they made a treatie with the Duke of Burgundie, whereby they agreed to give him a certaine summe of money to abandon their league with the citie of Liege, and to governe their estate apart, a manifest token of imminent destruction, when they that ought to continue together in amitie, sever themselves and forsake each other, which I speake as well to great Princes in league together as to townes and commonalties. But bicause I suppose every man to have seene and read a number of examples to this purpose, I will lightly passe over this discourse, onely noting by the way that King Lewis our Master was the finest and cunningest Prince in dissolving friendship betweene men that ever I knew, for he spared neither money, goods, nor travell, but labored as well the servants as the masters. Now to returne to the historie, they of Dinand soone repented them of the treatie above mentioned, for they cruelly put to death fower of their best citizens that had beene the chiefe perswaders of them thereunto, and began war a newe in the countie of Namur: wherefore partly for these considerations, and partly bicause of the earnest sollicitation of the citizens of Bouvines, Duke

CHAPTER I

Of the wars
betweene the
Burgundians
and Liegeois,
and how the
towne of
Dinand was
taken.

* The Dinandois durst not passe the river into the Dukes dominions, wherefore they planted their artillerie on their owne side of the river, meaning onely to beat the towne, not to make any breach.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

I

Of the wars
betweene the
Burgundians
and Liegeois,
and how the
towne of
Dinand was
taken.

Philip laid the siege before the towne, but the charge of the whole armie was committed to his sonne. Thither came also from his owne house the Earle of S. Paul Constable of France to aide the Duke, not by the Kings commandement, nor with the men of armes that were under his charge, but with such force onely as he had levied in the marches of Picardie. Once they of Dinand made a proud sallie, and were repulsed to their great losse: and the eight day after the towne being marvellously beaten with the canon was taken by assault,* so that their friends had not leisure to bethinke them whether they should aide them or not. The towne was burnt and rased, and the prisoners being to the number of eight hundred drowned before Bouvines.† Sure the revenge was cruell upon them, but I thinke God had so ordeined it because of their great wickednes.

The next day after the towne was taken, the Liegeois came thither with great force‡ to succour it, contrarie to their promise: for by the treatie above mentioned, they and the towne of Dinand had abandoned each other. Duke Philip because of his old age returned home, but his sonne with the whole armie marched against the Liegeois whom we met sooner than we looked for. For by chance our vaward missed the way for lacke of guides, by meanes whereof our battell met first with them, wherein were the principall leaders of our armie. It was almost night when we arrived at the place where they lodged: yet notwithstanding we marched against them, but even at that very instant they sent ambassadors to the Earle of Charolois, desiring him for the honour of the virgine Marie, whose even that was, to have compassion upon this poore people, excusing their fault the best they could. Yet this notwithstanding their armie made shew as though they desired the

* Dinand was taken in August,—*Annal. Burgund.*; the 25 of August saith Meyer, and the Duke's armie before the town was thirty thousand men,—Meyer.

† The eight hundred drowned before Bouvines, were those that hanged up the image of the Duke and his sonne with such reproches.—*Annal. Burgund.*

‡ The Liegeois army was of forty thousand men,—*Annal. Burg.*; but Meyer saith but sixe and thirty thousand.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

battell, and their behavior seemed cleane contrarie to their ambassadors request. But after the said ambassadors had passed twice or thrise betweene them and us, they concluded to observe the treatie made the yeere before, and to give the Duke a certaine summe of money, for performance of the which conditions, better than the former, they promised to deliver to the Earle by eight of the clocke the next morning three hundred hostages,* named in a role by their Bishop and certaine of his servants being in our campe. This night our army was in great trouble and feare, for our campe was neither fortified nor inclosed, besides that, we lay scattered heere and there, and in a place much for the Liegeois advantage, who were all footemen, and knew the country better than we. Some of them desired to assault us, and in mine opinion if they had so done, they mought easily have defeated us, but their ambassadors that intreated for peace brake off that enterprise.

By breake of day our armie was come together, and our battailes stode in very good order. Our force was great, for we were three thousand men of armes good and bad, and twelve or thirteene thousand archers, besides great force of footemen, of the countries thereabout. We marched straight upon our enimies with intent either to receave the hostages, or give them battell if they refused to deliver them. We found them severed into small bands, and in great disorder, as a people obedient to no mans commandement. Noone drew neere, the hostages being yet undelivered. Wherefore the Earle of Charolois asked the Marshall of Burgundie there present, whether he should assault them: who answered yea, alledging that they mought now be discomfited without danger, and that no conscience was to be made in the matter, seeing the fault was theirs. The like advise gave also the Lord of Contay, adding that he should never have them at such advantage, and shewing him how they went scattered heere and there in small bands, wherefore he counselled him without farther delay to invade them. But the Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce, being asked his advise, was of the contrarie opinion, saying, that if he assailed them, he

CHAPTER I

Of the wars
betweene the
Burgundians
and Liegeois,
and how the
towne of
Dinand was
taken.

* Others say but fiftie hostages.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

I

Of the wars
betweene the
Burgundians
and Liegeois,
and how the
towne of
Dinand was
taken.

should do against his honor and promise, bicause such a number of people could not so soone agree upon the deliverie of so many hostages. Wherefore he held it best to sende againe to them to knowe what they would do. The Earle of Charolois debated this matter long with himselfe. On the one side he sawe his ancient and mortall enimies defeated without all danger, but on the other, he feared the staining of his honor if he should invade them. In the end he sent a trumpeter to them, who met with the hostages upon the way, whereupon the wars ended, and every man returned home, but the soldiers were much offended with the Constables advise, for they sawe a goodly bootie before them. Incontinent ambassadors were sent to Liege to confirme the peace:* but the people being inconstant and wavering, vaunted that the Earle durst not fight with them, and discharged harquebuses upon his ambassadors, and entreated them very ill. But the Earle returned into Flaunders, and this sommer died his father,† for whom he made a great and solemne funerall at Bruges, and advertised the King of his death.

* This peace was concluded the 1 of September an. 1466, the conditions read in Meyer, fol. 339 pag. 2, and *Annal. Burgund.*, pag. 915. Farther about the middest of September the next yeere being 1467 they brake this peace againe.

† Duke Philip died the 15 of June 1467,—*Annal. Burgund.*, Berlandus, De la Marche; Meyer saith the 16 of Iuly, Gaguin in one place saith Iune, and in another the 14 of Iuly, he governed 43 yeeres, lived 71, Meyer. Farther here is to be noted that in this place, our author beginneth the yeere 1467, for that yeere died the Duke as he saith before in this chapter, and these words, where he saith, And this sommer died his father, have not relation to the same sommer Dinand was taken, and the peace made with the Liegeois: for if the Duke had died that sommer, he could not have bene at the taking of Dinand, for Dinand was taken in August, and then the Duke dying in Iune, must have bene dead before, if he had died that sommer: but these words have relation to the Earle of Charolois returne into Flaunders which was in the beginning of the sommer anno 1467, for the peace was made 1 September 1466, and all that winter (to the end he might make all sure at Liege:) he remained in those countries, and in the beginning of the next sommer, anno 1467, returned into Flaunders, and in Iune after died his father. Thus much I have bene forced to say, least our author by slipping over that winter bicause nothing was done in it, should seeme to write contrarieties.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER II

How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of Burgundie then Earle of Charolois, and how he discomfited them in battell.



DURING these wars and ever after, many secret and new practises were entertained betweene these Princes. The King was marvellously offended with the Dukes of Britaine and Burgundie, by meanes whereof they could hardly heare one from another : for oftentimes their messengers were staid, and in time of war forced to go by sea out of Britaine into Flaunders, or at the least to passe out of Britaine into England, and so to travell by land to Dover, and there to crosse over to Calice : for they could not passe the next way through Fraunce without great danger. But during all the space of twenty yeeres or more, that these Princes were at variance, sometime in open war, and sometime in a dissembled truce, wherein each partie comprehended their confederates : God shewed so great favor to the realme of Fraunce, that the civill wars in England were not yet fully ended, notwithstanding that they began fifteen yeeres before, and had continued with cruell and bloodie battels, wherein many a good man lost his life. For you shall understand, that there were in Englande two houses that claimed the crowne, to wit, Lancaster and Yorke : for the which cause both the parties proclaimed their enimies traitors, and the division of these two houses was the preservation of the estate of Fraunce : for doubt you not but that this realme had sustained great troubles if the English men had beene in such estate then as in times past. But to returne againe to our matter, the Kings chiefe desire was to conquere Britaine, both bicause it seemed easier to be sub-

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How the
Liegeois
brake the
peace with the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
how he dis-
comfited them
in battell.

dued, and of lesse defence than this house of Burgundie, and also because the Britons received all his evill willers, namely his brother, and other his enimies that had intelligence in his realme. Wherefore he practised continually with the Duke of Burgundie, making him divers offers if he would forsake the Britons, and namely that he would in like maner abandon the Liegeois, and all other the Dukes enimies. Whereunto the Duke of Burgundie would not agree, but made a new voiage against the Liegeois, because they had againe broken the peace, and taken and spoiled a towne called Huy,* and chased his men out of it, notwithstanding the hostages delivered the yeere before under paine of death, and the great summe of mony they had bound themselves to forfeite, if they brake the said treatie. The Duke levied his armie about Louvain in Brabant, and upon the marches of Liege, whither came to him from the King the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce (now become wholly French, and residing altogether with the King) accompanied with Cardinall Balue and others, who advertised him that the Liegeois were the Kings confederates, and comprehended in the truce: wherefore the King would succour them if he invaded them. Notwithstanding they offered if he would abandon the Dukes of Berrie and Britaine to the King, that the King would then abandon the Liegeois to him. Their audience was short and in open court, neither staid they above one day. The Duke excused himselfe, and accused the Liegeois with breach of the peace, alledging that they had invaded his dominions, wherefore he saw no reason why he should not be revenged on them without forsaking his confederates, and this was his answer for that time. Againe the next day after their arrivall, the Duke being ready to take horse, tolde them that he humbly besought the King to attempt nothing against the Duke of Britaine, whereunto the Constable replied and said, Sir you choose not but take all, for you will make war at your pleasure upon our friends, and constraîne us to lie still and not invade our enimies as you do yours, it

* The new copie hath Liny, but the old and La Marche name is Huy, Guicci Hoey, Hubertus Huyum, Meyer Hoyum, and almost all other good authors.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

may not be so, neither will the King endure it. Then the Duke taking his leave said thus againe: The Liegeois are assembled together, and within three daies I looke for the battell, if I be overthrowne, I am sure you will do after your accustomed maner: but if the victorie fall on my side, the Britaines shall live quietly by you. Which talke ended; he mounted on horsebacke, and the ambassadors repaired to their lodgings, to make them ready to depart. The Duke marched in armes from Louvaine with great force, and laid his siege before a towne called Sainctron, his power was marvellous great, for all the strength of Burgundie was come to him, so that this armie was far greater than any other that I had seene with him before.

A little before his departure, he debated with his counsell, whether he should put the Liegeois hostages to death, or what he should do with them. Some gave advise to kill them all, especially the Lord of Contay so often above mentioned, whom I never heard speake so cruelly as at that present. Wherefore it is necessary for a Prince to have more than one of his counsell, for the wisest erre, yea, and that often. Otherwhiles because they are partiall to the matters debated through hatred or love, sometime because they seeke to contrarie some one that hath spoken before them, possible also their bodies may be evill disposed, for it is not to be held for counsell that is given after dinner. But you will say, that men subject to such imperfections are unfit to be of a Princes counsell, whereunto I answer, that we are all men, and that who so will have no counsellors but such as never faile to speake wisely, nor are more distempered at one time then another, must seeke them in heaven, for he shall not finde them on earth. But for redresse of this inconvenience, sometime one of the counsell will speake very well and wisely, that useth not often so to do, and thus one supplieth an others defects. Now to returne to the matter debated in this assemblie, two or three were of the said Contaies opinion, mooved thereunto by his great authoritie and wisdome: for in such assemblies a great number give their opinion but as they have heard some other speake before them, not understanding the matters debated, but seeking onely to flatter

CHAPTER II

How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of Burgundie, and how he discomfited them in battell.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II some one being of credit and authoritie that hath already spoken.

How the
Liegeois
brake the
peace with the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
how he dis-
comfited them
in battell.

After these the Lord of Himbercourt, a gentleman borne neere to Amiens, and one of the wisest knights that ever I knew, being asked his advise said, that to the end the Duke might have God on his side, and discharge himselfe of crueltie and desire of revenge before the world: he thought it best to pardon all these hostages, considering they came thither with a good intent, supposing the treatie should have been observed. Notwithstanding he advised the Duke at their departure to give them to understand, how great grace and favor he shewed them, and to desire them to do their endeavor in perswading their citizens to peace, which if they could not obtaine, yet at the least themselves acknowledging his goodnes towards them, should never after beare armes neither against him, nor their bishop there present with him. This opinion tooke place, and the hostages when they were delivered promised to do as the Duke required. Farther this was told them at their departure, that if any of them were hereafter taken in armes against the Duke, he should die, and thus they were dismissed.

It is not amisse to reherse heere how after Monsieur de Contaires cruell sentence pronounced against the hostages: (part of the which were come thither with a good meaning and upon very simplicitie,) one of the Counsell said thus to me in mine eare: Marke well this man, his body is healthfull ynough, though he be old: yet dare I lay a good wager he shall not live a yeere to an end, bicause of this cruell sentence he hath given, and sure so it fell out, for he lived not long after. Notwithstanding before his death he did his Master good service in the battell against the Liegeois, whereof you shall now heare.

I have made mention before how the Duke departing from Louvaine, laide his siege before Sainctron, and bent his artillerie against it. Within the towne were three thousand Liegeois under the charge of a valiant knight, the selfe same that was their chiefe commissioner for peace when we met them in order of battell the yeere before. But the third day after the Dukes arrivall before the towne, the Liegeois

PHILIP DE COMMINES

with great force came to levie his siege about ten of the clocke in the morning, they were thirtie thousand men * and better good and bad, all footmen save five hundred. They were well furnished of artillerie, and encamped within halfe a league of us in a strong village called Breton, part whereof was environed with a marish. Farther Francis Rojet, Bailif of Lions, and the Kings ambassador at that time to the saide Liegeois, was with them in their armie.† Our fourragers were the first that advertised us of their arrivall, for we had no scoutes abroad, which was a foule oversight : I never was in place with the Duke of Burgundie where I saw him give good order of himselfe but this day onely. Incontinent he raunged all his battels in the fiede, save certeine bands appointed to lie still at the siege, among the which were five or sixe hundred English men. Farther he beset both the sides of the village with twelve hundred men of armes, and placed himselfe with eight hundred men of armes directly over against the village, somewhat farther off than the rest : he caused also a great companie of gentlemen and men of armes to light on foote with the archers, and then the Lord of Ravastain with the vaward (being all on foote, as well men of armes, as archers) marched forward with certeine peeces of artillerie even hard to the Liegeois trenches which were broad, deepe, and full of water : yet notwithstanding with force of arrowes, and cannon shot, the enimies were repulsed, and their trenches wonne, and their artillerie also : but when our shot failed us, the Liegeois recovered their spirits and with their long pikes gave a charge upon our archers and their Captaines, of whom they slew in a moment foure or five hundred, in such sort that all our ensignes began to waver as men halfe discomfited. At which instant the Duke commanded the archers of his battell to march, being led by Philip of Crevecœur, Lord of Cordes (a wise gentleman) and divers other valiant men, who so courageously assailed the enimies,

CHAPTER II

How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of Burgundie, and how he discomfited them in battell.

* The Liegeois armie that came to succour Sainctron was of 20000 men, (but understand besides the Kings forces) lead by Messir Bare or Barado as Meyer termeth him who was slaine in the battell.—Meyer.

† The King sent to aide the Liegeois 400 men of armes and 6000 archers.—Meyer.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

II

How the
Liegeois
brake the
peace with the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
how he dis-
comfited them
in battell.

that with the turning of a hand they were put to flight. But neither the horsemen above mentioned that stood on both sides of the village, neither the Duke himselfe could follow the chase because of the marish : for they were placed there onely to this end, that if the Liegeois had broken the D. vawarde, and issued foorth of their trenches into the plaine, they might then have given a charge upon them. The Liegeois fled along through the marish, being pursued only by our footmen, notwithstanding the Duke sent part of the horsemen that accompanied himselfe to follow the chase, but they were forced to ride two leagues about before they could finde any passage, by meanes whereof they were benighted, which saved many a Liegeois life. The rest of his horsemen the Duke sent to his campe, because they heard a great noise there, and doubted the enimies sally, and indeede they had issued foorth thrise, but were alwaies repulsed, especially through the valiantnes of the English men that the D. left there behind him. A few of the Liegeois after they were put to flight relied themselves together at their cariage, but staid not long there. In this battell were slaine nine thousand men,* which number I am sure shall seeme great to all that love truth, but I have beene in my time in many battells, where for one that was slaine men made report of a hundred, thinking thereby to please their Masters whom often they abuse with such untruthes. Sure had we not beene benighted, there had beene slaine above fifteene thousand. The battell being ended,† the Duke when it was darke night returned with the whole armie into his campe, save a thousand or twelve hundred horse that were gone two leagues about to follow the chase, for otherwise they could not come neere their enimies because of a little river that was to passe. They did no great exploit because of the night : notwithstanding some of their enimies

* There were slaine at this battell 6000 saith the old copie, 3000 Meyer, grounding himselfe upon certeine obscure Annalists, one of Flaunders, the other of Brabant, of purpose to contrarie our author as in Commynes life is shewed more at large.

† This battell was fought upon Alhallow Even,—De la Marche ; but Meyer saith the 27 of October.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

they slew, and some they tooke, but the greatest part escaped into the citie. The Lord of Contay did good service this day in giving order in the battell, and died shortly after in the towne of Huz and made a good end : he was a wise and a valiant knight, but lived not long after his cruell sentence pronounced against the hostages above mentioned. The Duke immediatly after he was unarmed called one of his secretaries, and wrote a letter to the Constable and the other ambassadors departed from him at Louvaine not above foure daies before, wherein he advertised them of his victorie and desired them to attempt nothing against the Britons.

Within two daies after the battell, the pride of this foolish people was cleane abated, though their losse were not great : whereby appeereth how dangerous a thing it is for any Prince to hazard his estate in battell, if he may by any other means make a good end, for a small losse in a battell changeth and altereth the minds of his subjects that receiveth the overthrow more than any man would think, causing them not onely to stand in great feare of their enimies, but also to despise and contemne their Prince and those that are in authoritie about him, yea to murmur and practise against him. They demand boldlier than they were accustomed, and storne if ought be denied them, so that the Prince mought have done more with one crown before the battell, than with three after it. Wherefore if he that hath received the overthrow be wise, he will not adventure a second battell in this estate with those that have fled, but onely defend his owne, and seeke some small enterprise easie to be atchieved, to the end thereby his subjects may recover their former courage, and remoove from them all feare. To conclude, the losse of a battell traineth with it a number of inconveniences to him that is vanquished. Notwithstanding great conquerors have just cause to desire the battell to abridge their labours, as have also the Englishmen and Switzers, both bicause they are better footemen than their neighbors, as appeareth by the great victories they have obtained, (which notwithstanding I write not to the dispraise of other nations) and also bicause their men can not keepe the fields long without dooing some exploit, as Frenchmen and Italians

CHAPTER II

How the
Liegeois
brake the
peace with the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
how he dis-
comfited them
in battell.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

II

How the
Liegeois
brake the
peace with the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
how he dis-
comfited them
in battell.

can, who also are more full of practise and easier to be governed than they. Now on the otherside, he that obtaineth the victorie, increaseth his honor and estimation, his subjects are the more obedient, they denie him nothing that he demandeth, his soldiers also waxe thereby the hardier, and the more courageous. Notwithstanding oftentimes the Princes themselves after a victorie obtained, are so puffed up with pride and vaine glorie, that commonly their good successe turneth to their harme, all the which hapneth by Gods disposition, who sendeth alterations according to mens deserts.

When they within Sainctron saw the battell lost, and themselves inclosed on all sides, supposing also the discomfiture to be much greater than indeede it was: they laid downe their armor, yeelded the towne, and delivered such men to the Dukes mercie as he demanded, whom he incontinent caused to be beheaded, sixe of them being of the hostages that he had dismissed a few daies before, under such conditions as you have heard. From thence he dislodged and marched to Tongres, which abode the siege: but because the towne was nothing strong, they yeelded before the batterie under the same conditions that their neighbors of Sainctron had accepted, and delivered also ten men to the Duke, who were put to death as the former, five or sixe of them being likewise of the hostages above mentioned.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER III

How some of the citizens of Liege agreeing to yeeld their towne and others refusing so to do, the Lord of Hymbercourt found meanes to enter into it for the Duke of Burgundie.



FROM Tongres the Duke marched to the citie of Liege, where the people were in great division, for part of them gave advise to defend the towne: saying that they had force sufficient within it so to do, the chiefe of the which faction was a knight called Master Raz of Luitre, but others seeing all the countrey about burned and destroyed, would in any wise have peace, were the conditions never so unreasonable: wherefore when the Duke approached neere to the citie, divers overtures of peace were made by certaine meane persons, as prisoners and such like. But the principall dealers therein were certaine of our host-ages, who doing cleane contrarie to the others above mentioned, and acknowledging the great favor the Duke had shewed them, brought to his campe with them three hundred of the best citizens in their shirts, bare headed, and bare legged, who presented the keies of the citie to him, and yeelded themselves to his mercie, humbly beseeching him onely to give them his word, that the towne should neither be fired nor sacked. And at the selfe same time that they came in this estate to the Duke, the Kings ambassadors being Monsieur de Mouy, and a secretarie called Iohn Prevost were there present, who were come to the Duke with the same demands that the Constable had made a few daies before. Farther, the very day of the composition, the Duke supposing to enter the citie, sent the Lord of Hymbercourt thither before him, because he was well acquainted in the

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the Lord
of Hymber-
court found
meanes to
enter into
Lieve for
the Duke of
Burgundie.

towne, and had beene governor thereof under Duke Philip during the yeeres they lived in peace: notwithstanding entrie was denied him for that day, whereupon he retired and lodged in an abbey without one of the towne gates, being accompanied with fiftie men of armes, the whole number amounting to two hundred soldiers, and my selfe being one of them. The Duke of Burgundy sent him word if the place where he lay were strong not to dislodge, otherwise to retire backe to him, for he could hardly have succoured him because all that countrey is rocke and stone. The said Hymbercourt resolved not to moove (for the place was very strong,) but retained with him five or six of the citizens that brought the keies to the Duke, minding to use their helpe to good purpose, as hereafter you shall perceive. At nine of the clocke at night we heard a bell ring, at the sound whereof the citizens use to assemble, whereupon the said Hymbercourt, doubted that this bell called companie together to issue forth to assaile us, (for he was advertised that Master Raz of Luitre and other of the citizens would not agree to peace) and in deed his surmise was true, for that was their determination, and they were even upon the point to sally. Then said the Lord of Hymbercourt to us, If we can dally with them but till midnight, we are safe, for they wil waxe wearie and desirous of sleepe, and then those that are our enemies in the towne will flie when they shall see their enterprise frustrate: wherefore to bring his purpose to passe, he dispatched two of the citizens that he had staied with him, and delivered them certeine friendly articles in writing, meaning only to busie the citizens with farther talke to win time: for their maner was and yet is to assemble together at the Bishops pallace to debate of their affaires, when the Bell above mentioned is rung. These two Burgesses which had been of our hostages, when they came to the gate being hardly two bowe shot from the abbey where we lodged: found a great number of the citizens there in armes, some of the which would needes issue forth to assaile us, and some not. Then our two Burgesses tould the Maior of the citie aloude, that they brought certeine friendly articles in writing from the Lord of Hymbercourt the Duke of Burgundies

PHILIP DE COMMINES

lieutenant in those countreies, willing him to returne to the pallace to read them, whereunto he agreed, and incontinent we heard the bell ring againe, whereby we understood that they were busied about our articles. Our two Burgesses returned not, but about an hower after we heard a greater noise at the gate than before, and a much greater number came thither in armes, crying and railing upon us from the wals, whereby the Lord of Hymbercourt perceived our danger to be now rather increased than diminished: wherefore he dispatched the other fower hostages that were yet with him, by whom he wrote a letter, the contents whereof were that during the time he was governor of the citie, for the Duke of Burgundie, he had used them gently and lovingly, neither would for any thing consent to their destruction, especially seeing not long before he had beene a commoner of one of their companies in the towne, namely the Goldsmithes companie:* wherefore they ought so much the rather to credit his words. To be short he said if they would obtaine peace, and save their countrey, they must first receive the Duke into the towne according to their promise, and then subscribe to certeine articles written in the scedule he there sent them. After he had well instructed these fower hostages, they went to the gate as did the former, which they found wide open. Some of the citizens welcommed them with sharpe words, but others were content to heare their message. To be short in the end they returned againe to the pallace, immediatly whereupon we heard the bell ring which much comforted us, and by litle and litle, the noise that was at the gate ceased. They were together in the pallace till two of the clocke after midnight, and in the end concluded to observe the composition they had made, and the next morning to deliver one of the towne gates to the Lord of Hymbercourt: whereupon incontinent Master Raz of Luitre and his whole faction fled out of the towne.

I would not have stode so long upon this point being of so small importance, had it not beene to declare that by

* There were in this citie 32 companies, without whome nothing was concluded: the principall was the Goldsmithes companie, but the most ancient the Blacksmithes.—Guicci.

CHAPTER III

How the Lord of Hymbercourt found meanes to enter into Liege for the Duke of Burgundie.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

III

How the Lord
of Hymber-
court found
meanes to
enter into
Lieg for
the Duke of
Burgundie.

such fine devises proceeding of deepe wisdome, great perils, dangers, and losses are often eschewed. The next morning by day breake, a number of the hostages came to the Lord of Hymbercourt, desiring him to come to the pallace where all the people were assembled, there to assure them by his oth of the two points they doubted of: to wit the firing and sacking of the towne, which being done, they promised to put one of the gates into his hands: whereof he sent word to the Duke, and then accompanied them to the pallace, where after he had sworne as they demanded, he returned to the gate. And the citizens commanded the soldiers that were upon it to come downe, and he put into it twelve men of armes, and certeine archers, and reared up the Duke of Burgundies ensigne. From thence he went to another walled gate, into the which he put the bastard of Burgundie, who lay neere at hand. Into the third he put the Marshal of Burgundie, and into the fourth certeine gentlemen that were with himselfe, and thus were fower gates well manned with Burgundians, and the Dukes ensignes upon them.

Now you shall understand, that at that time the citie of Liege was one of the mightiest and most populous townes in those quarters, except fower or five, besides that, a great multitude of the countrey people round about, was retired thither, so that their losse in the battell was no whit perceived. Farther they were well furnished of all things, and it was the deepe of winter when we came before the towne, the weather was marvellous foule, and the ground woonderfull soft and mirie. We on the other side were in great distresse both of vitailles and money, and our army in a maner broken. Wherefore the Duke had no purpose to besiege the citie, neither could he though he would, and if they had staid the composition but two daies longer, he was fully resolved to returne home. Wherefore I may well conclude, that the great honor he obtained in this voiage proceeded of the meere grace of God, contrarie to mans expectation: for he durst hardly have craved at Gods hands the good successe he gave him, which great honor and goodly victorie in the judgement of all vertuous and wise men hapned to him, for the favor and mercie shewed to the hostages above mentioned.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

This I write bicause both Princes and others oftentimes finde fault as it were with themselves, when they have done a pleasure or a good turne to a man, saying, that they were accursed when they did it, and will beware hereafter how they pardon so lightly, how they bestow any such benefit, or shew any such favor to any man, all the which notwithstanding, are things appertaining to their dutie and office. Wherefore in mine opinion this is evill spoken, and proceedeth of a base and abject minde: for a Prince or any other man that never was deceived, can be but a beast, bicause he understandeth not the difference betweene good and evill. Besides that, all men are not of one disposition, and it is no reason for the naughtines of one or two to cease from doing good to a great number, when time and occasion serveth. Notwithstanding I wish Princes to make good choise of those they benefit, for all men deserve not alike. But me thinke it almost impossible for a wise man to be unthankfull, or unmindfull of a good turne, and if Princes bestow upon fooles, they are woorse than mad, for they shall perceave in the end that a fooles acquaintance can stand them in no steede. Farther in mine opinion, this is the greatest point of wisdom in a Prince to have ncere about him wise and vertuous men: for himselfe shall be judged to be of the nature and disposition of those that are most familiar with him. Wherefore to conclude this discourse, me thinke we ought never to be wearie of well dooing: for one man alone, yea the meanest of those we have pleased, may happily so requite our friendship, that he shall recompence the ingratitude of a multitude, as appeared by these hostages, the greatest part whereof, were ingrate and unthankfull, but some of them acknowledged and requited the benefit received: for by the onely meanes of five or sixe of them, this enterprise was atchieved, which turned so greatly to the Duke of Burgundies honor and profit.

CHAPTER III

How the Lord of Hymbercourt found meanes to enter into Liege for the Duke of Burgundie.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

How the Duke of Burgundie made his entrie into the citie of Liege, and how the citzens of Gaunt where he had been evill intreated before, humbled themselves unto him.



THE next day after the gates were yeelded, the Duke entred the towne in great triumph,* for a breach was made in the wall for his entrie twenty fathoms long, and the towne ditch all the length of the breach filled up even with the ground: with him entred on foote two thousand men of armes armed at all peecees, and two thousand archers, yet notwithstanding the force in his campe was marvellous great. The Duke himselfe entred on horsebacke, accompanied with all his houshold servants, and the noblest men in his armie, clad and apparelled the most sumptuously that might be: and in this estate rode he through the towne, and lighted at the great Church. To be short, he abode there certaine daies, and put to death five or sixe more of his hostages that had broken promise, and with them the towne messenger whom he hated extremely: he established certaine new lawes and customes, and commanded a great summe of mony to be levied in the citie, which he said was forfeited to him for the treaties and compositions broken the yeeres before. Farther, he caried away all their artillerie and armour, and rased all their gates and wals.

This done he returned into his owne countrie where he was honorably and dutifully received especially of the citzens of Gaunt, who before his voiage to Liege had after a sort rebelled against him with certaine other townes, but now they

* The Duke entred into Liege the 11 of November 1467.—Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

received him as a conqueror, with so great lowlines and humilitie, that certaine of the best citizens came on foote to him as far as Bruxels, bringing with them all the banners of their towne, which they did for this cause: Immediately after his fathers death he chose the citie of Gaunt for the first towne he would make his entrie into: for supposing that to be the towne where he was best beloved, and therefore looking for all dutie and obedience at their hands: he hoped also by that meanes to finde the like in all the other townes of his dominions, assuring himselfe that they would all follow the example of this, which his opinion proved true as touching this latter point. But you shall understand that the next day after his entrie, they came in armes upon the market place, bringing with them a Saint called Saint Lieuin, with whose shrine they beate downe a little house called La Cueillette: where a custome of corne was received for paiment of certaine dets the towne ought to Duke Philip by the treatie of peace called the treatie of Gaures,* for two yeeres they had been in wars with him. To be short, they saide this Saint would passe through this house without stouping, and in a moment beate downe the house, which disorder the Duke seeing, went himselfe to the market place: a great number of noble men in armes offering to waite upon him as he passed through the streetes, which he refused, commanding them to stay before the towne-house, and attende him there. Notwithstanding, by litle and litle the throng of people forced them at length into the market place also, whither when the Duke came, he went up into a house to speake to these rebels, commanding them to take up the shrine and beare it into the church, which some obediently did but others caused it to be laid downe againe. Then they presented supplications to him against certaine of the towne, touching paiments of money, wherein he promised

CHAPTER IV

How the
Duke of
Burgundie
made his
entrie into
the citie of
Liege.

* The French corrector through unskilfulnes had corrupted this place, and sometime calleth it La Paix de Gand, and sometime nothing, but I have heere restored it out of Meyer and *Annal. Burgund.* This peace was concluded 3 Calend. Augusti 1453, whereof reade *Annal. Burgund.*, lib. 3. pa. 829; Meyer, lib. 16. fol. 314, and others.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

How the
Duke of
Burgundie
made his
entrie into
the citie of
Liege.

to do justice. But when he sawe they would not depart, he returned to his lodging, and they abode in armes upon the market place the space of eight daies. The next morning they brought articles to him, demanding the restitution of all their privilegedes that Duke Philip had taken from them by the treatie of Gaures, of this one especially, that every company in the towne (being threescore and twelve in all) might have a banner according to their ancient custom. The Duke seeing the danger he stood in, granted them all their demands, and all such privilegedes as they required, which word was no sooner passed him, but they reared up all their banners upon the market place, being all readie made, whereby appeered that they would have had them perforce, if he had not granted them. His opinion at his first entrie into Gaunt proved true, that all the other townes would follow their example : for indeede divers rebelled as the towne of Gaunt did, slew his officers, and committed divers other disorders. But if he had beleevied his fathers proverbe, that the citizens of Gaunt love their Princes sonne well, but their Prince never, he had not beene deceived, and to say the truth, next to the citizens of Liege these of Gaunt are the most inconstant in the world. Notwithstanding, one good propertie they have among so many bad, that they never lay hands upon their Princes person,* besides that, the best Burgesses of the towne are very honest men, and much offended with the peoples insolencie.

The Duke was forced to digest and winke at all these rebellions, fearing to enter into a double war at one time with his owne subjects and the Liegeois. Notwithstanding his meaning was if he sped well in his voiage to Liege, to teach them their duty at his returne, as also it hapned, for as I have already made mention, they brought to him on foote to Bruxels, all their banners, privilegedes, and writings, as

* Yet the citizens of Gaunt anno 1338 constrained Lodovicus Nivernensis Earle of Flaunders to flie for the safetie of his life into a castell in Gaunt called Petra Comitis where they also besieged him. Againe anno 1346 they constrained Lodovicus Maleanus perforce to go with them to Bergen, and against his will to give his faith to Isabell daughter to King Edward the third : they set a garde also about his person, but he escaped and fled into Fraunce.—Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

well those they made him grant at his departure from Gaunt as others, all the which in a great assembly held in the hall of Bruxels, in the presence of divers ambassadors they presented to him, to do with them at his pleasure. Then the Herald of armes by his commandement, tooke the said banners from the staves whereto they were fastned, and carried them to Bolleyn, a haven towne eight leagues from Calis, where the other banners yet remained that Duke Philip his father tooke from them, when the wars ended, wherein he vanquished and subdued them. Farther the Dukes Chancellor tooke all their priviledges, and rent one of them concerning the election of their Senate: for in all the other townes of Flaunders, the Prince every yeere chooseth the Senate, and receiveth their accounts, but by this priviledge he might choose but foure in Gaunt, and the rest being two and twenty themselves choose: when the Senators of the townes are friends and faithful subjects to their Prince, he liveth that yeere in peace, and they willingly graunt him all his demands: but if they be otherwise, commonly some rebellion happeneth. Lastly the citizens of Gaunt paid the Duke thirtie thousand gildons and six thousand to his principall servants, and banished certaine out of their towne, but all their other priviledges were restored them, the rest of the townes bought also their peace with money, for they had attempted no great matter against the Duke.

By this example a man may perceive how great good ensueth victorie in a battel, and how many inconveniences the overthrow. Wherefore a Prince ought to beware how he hazard his estate upon a day unlesse necessitie force him thereunto: and if that happen, then must he bethinke himselfe before the hower of all doubts and dangers that may be imagined. For those that feare a matter commonly provide well for it, and have oftener good successe than they that proceede with a carelesse contempt: unlesse God be fully resolved to strike the stroke, against whom mans wisdom cannot prevaile. Which point is sufficiently proved by the example of these Liegeois above mentioned, who had been excommunicated the space of five yeeres for their vari-

CHAPTER IV

How the Duke of Burgundie made his entrie into the citie of Liege.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

How the
Duke of
Burgundie
made his
entrie, etc.

ance with their Bishop, whereof notwithstanding they made no account, but continued still in their folly and naughtines, mooved thereunto onely through wealth and pride. Wherefore King Lewis was wont to say, that when pride rideth before, shame and dammage follow after, (a very wise saying in mine opinion) and sure for his part he was free from that vice.

CHAPTER V

How the King seeing what had happened the Liegeois, made war in Britaine upon the Duke of Burgundies confederates, and how they two met and communed together at Peronne.



THESE troubles being thus ended, the Duke went to Gaunt where he was received with great pompe and triumph, for he entred in armes, and the citizens made a posterne into the fields, by the which he put men in and out at his pleasure: manie messengers ran betweene him and the King, and likewise between the Duke of Britaine and him, and thus passed this winter. The King travelled continually with the Duke of Burgundie to suffer him to invade Britaine at his pleasure, making him divers offers in consideration thereof: whereunto the Duke would not condescend, for the which cause partly, and partly for the overthrow given to the Liegeois his confederates, the Kings displeasure was so kindled that longer he could not forbear, but in the very beginning of sommer entred into Britaine, at the least his forces for him, and tooke two small castels, the one called Chantosse, the other Anseny, whereof the Duke of Burgundy was incontinent advertised, and earnestly pressed by the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine with all speede to levie his armie for their aide, whereupon he wrote

PHILIP DE COMMINES

to the King, humbly beseeching him to relinquish his enterprise, seeing these two Dukes were comprehended in the truce as his confederates, but receiving such answer as liked him not, he encamped with great force neere to Peronne. The Kings armie was still in Britaine, but the Court lay at Compiegne, from whence the King sent Cardinall Balue to the Duke within three daies after his arrivall at Peronne, who staid not long with him, but made certaine overtures of peace, advertising him also that they in Britaine could make their composition well ynough without him, for the Kings drift was to sever them. The Cardinall was honorably received, well feasted, and soone dispatched, and returned with this answer, that the Duke was not come foorth into the field to offend the King in any respect, but onely to succour his confederates: so the messages that passed betweene them were very courteous on both sides.

Immediately after the Cardinals departure, a heralt called Bretaine arrived at the Duke of Burgundies campe with letters from the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine, wherein they advertised him that they had made peace with the King, and renounced all leagues and confederacies, and namely their league with him, and farther that the Duke of Normandie had surrendred Normandie (lately given him for his partage) to the King, and should receive in recompence thereof, and of all other partages the yeerly revenues of three-score thousand franks, which conditions (though never so unreasonable) necessitie forced the Lord Charles of Fraunce to accept. The Duke of Burgundie was woonderfully abashed at these newes: for he had put himselfe into the field onely to aide the said Dukes. And sure the heralt was in great danger, for because he passed by the Court, the Duke suspected that the King had forged these letters, notwithstanding he received immediately after, the like advertisement from other places. The King thought now his enterprise halfe atchieved, and that he should easily perswade the Duke of Burgundie to forsake these two Dukes, as they had him: whereupon secret messengers ran betweene them, and the King gave the Duke sixe score thousand crownes, whereof he paid the one halfe presently the better to content the said

CHAPTER V

How the King made war in Britaine upon the Duke of Burgundies confederates, and how they two met and communed together at Peronne.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER V

How the King
made war in
Britaine upon
the Duke of
Burgundies
confederates,
and how the
two met and
communed
together at
Peronne.

Duke, who had consumed great summes in levying this armie. Farther, the Duke sent to the King a groome of his chamber very neere about him, named Iohn Vobrisset, whereupon the King conceived great hope of his enterprise, and seemed desirous to commune with the Duke in person, trusting to obtaine of him all that he required, both bicause of the two foresaid Dukes ingratitude towards him, and also bicause of the great summe of monie he had given him. Wherefore he advertised the Duke of certaine matters by the said Vobrisset, and sent backe with him Cardinall Balue and Master TanneGuy du Chastell governor of Roussillon, who gave the Duke to understand by their words, that the King desired greatly that they two might commune together in person.

They found the Duke at Peronne who seemed to have no great devotion to this meeting, bicause the Liegeois made shew as though they would rebell anew, being solicited thereunto by two ambassadors sent thither by the King for that purpose, before the truce was made which he and the Duke concluded, for certaine daies betweene them and their confederates. But Cardinall Balue and the other ambassadors put this doubt out of his head, alleaging that the Liegeois durst attempt no such thing, considering he had vanquished them, and rased their wals but the yeere before : and farther, if they had any such desire, yet when they should see this amity betweene him and the King, they would soone alter their mindes. Thus in the end it was concluded that the King should come to Peronne seeing it pleased him so to do, and the Duke sent him a letter written with his owne hand, containing sufficient suretie to come and go at his pleasure. And thus departed the ambassadors, and returned to the King being then at Noyon. But the Duke minding to make all sure in the countrie of Liege, sent thither their Bishop for whose quarrell all the wars above mentioned first began, and in his companie the Lord of Hymbercourt (the Dukes lieutenant in those parts) with certaine bands of men.

You have heard how it was concluded that the King should come to Peronne, according to the which determina-

PHILIP DE COMMINES

tion thither he came without his garde, for his pleasure was wholly to put himselfe under the garde and suretie of the Duke, and that Monsieur de Cordes (who then served the Duke) should convey him thither with the said Dukes archers which was done accordingly. The Kings traine was very small, notwithstanding he came accompanied with divers noble personages, namely, the Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinall his brother, and the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce, who had not busied himselfe about this meeting but much misliked it. For he was now growen proude and high minded, and behaved not himselfe to the Duke of Burgundie with such lowlines and humilitie as he was accustomed: wherefore there was no good will betweene them twaine. Thither came also Cardinall Balue, the governor of Roussillon, and divers others. And when the King drew neere to Peronne, the Duke with a goodly traine issued foorth to receive him, and brought him into the towne, and lodged him in a goodly house neere to the castell being the receivers, for the castell was a little old thing naught woorth.

War betweene two great Princes is easily begun but hardly ended, bicause of a number of accidents depending thereupon: for each partie dispatcheth messengers to and fro to hurt his enimie, which suddenly cannot be countermaunded nor revoked, as appeered by these two Princes, who concluded this meeting upon a sudden, not advertising their servants thereof, who were far from them executing the charge their Masters had given them. For you shal understand that the Duke had sent for his armie into Burgundie, being replenished at that time with a number of noblemen, among the which were the Lord of Bresse, and his two brethren the Bishop of Geneva, and the Earle of Romont, all three sonnes to the Duke of Savoy: for the Savoyans and Burgundians have ever borne great affection each to other. In this armie were also certaine Almaines borderers upon Savoy and the county of Burgundie. Now you shal understand that the King in times past had held the Lord of Bresse in prison, bicause of two Knights he commanded to be slaine in Savoy, wherefore there was no good will

CHAPTER V

How the King made war in Britaine upon the Duke of Burgundies confederates, and how they two met and communed together at Peronne.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER V

How the King
made war in
Britaine upon
the Duke of
Burgundies
confederates,
and how they
two met and
communed
together at
Peronne.

betweene them two. In this armie were also the Lord of Urfé Master of the horse afterward to King Charles, Master Poncet of Riviere, and the Lord of Lau, whom the King after speciall good liking of him had also held long in prison, but he escaped and fled into Burgundie. All this companie above mentioned arrived neere to Peronne, even at the very instant that the King came thither, and the Lord of Bresse with the three above mentioned, every one of them wearing the Saint Andrewes crosse entred the towne, supposing they had come time ynough to accompanie the Duke when he should go to receive the King, but bicause they came too late they went straight to the Dukes chamber to do their dutie to him, where the Lord of Bresse humbly besought him that the three above named, notwithstanding the Kings comming, might be there under his safegard and protection, as he promised them in Burgundie at their first arrivall into his dominions, adding that they were ready to serve him against all men none excepted: which request the Duke granted with his owne mouth, and for their good will thanked them. The rest of this armie (led by the Marshall of Burgundie) lodged without the towne as they were appointed. The said Marshall hated the King no lesse than the others above named, bicause of Pinall a towne in Lorraine which the King had once given him, and afterward taken from him to bestow upon Iohn Duke of Calabria so often mentioned in this historie. The King being foorthwith advertised of these noble mens arrivall, and the apparell they ware* fell suddenly into great feare, and sent to the Duke desiring him that he might lodge in the castell, bicause all these above named were his enimies. The Duke rejoiced to see him in such feare, and caused his lodging to be made there, willing him to be of good cheere and doubt nothing.

* He meaneth by apparell the Saint Andrewes crosse.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER VI

A discourse wherein is declared how greatly
learning especially in histories profiteth
Princes and noble men.



It is great folly for one Prince to put himself under the power of another, especially when they are in war together, as those Princes well know that have studied histories in their youth, wherein they finde divers examples of great falshood and treason used in times past at such enter-views, and of divers that have staid as prisoners, and slaine those that have come to them under their suretie.* I say not that all have used so to do, but the example of one is sufficient to instruct a number, how to looke to themselves. My selfe for my part have seene some

* Of treason in treatie we have numbers of examples: First of Iugurtha taken by his father in law Boccus, and delivered to the Romaines. Sertorius slaine at a banquet by Perpenna. In England we have the treason of Hengist to Vortiger. In Scotland we read of William Earle of Douglass slaine by James King of Scots in treatie. In Germanie Albert Earle of Franconia betraied in treatie by Ottho Bishop of Mentz. Iohn of Angier, slaine by Albertus Bavarus Earle of Henault and Flaunders, notwithstanding his safe conduct. In Fraunce Iohn Duke of Burgundie slaine by Charles the seventh. William Duke of Normandie by Arnulph Earle of Flaunders. Lewis King of Fraunce taken prisoner by the Normans and Danes at Roan. Iohn Duke of Britaine taken at a banquet and imprisoned by Margaret Countesse of Pontibera. Guido Earle of Flaunders twice taken prisoner under safe conduct by Philip le Bel King of Fraunce. Charles the simple slaine by the Earle of Vermandoy. What should I speake of the treasons of Ferrande and Alfonse Kings of Naples, or of Christiern King of Denmarke, with numbers of others recorded in histories as our author heere very truly reporteth.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

A discourse
wherein is
declared how
greatly learn-
ing especially
in histories
profiteth
Princes and
noble men.

experience in the world, having beene by the space of eightene yeeres and better, emploied continually in Princes services, and privie all that while to the weightiest and secretest affaires that have passed in this realme, or the countries bordering upon it, and sure in mine opinion the best way to learne wisdom is to read ancient histories, which will teach us by example of our auncestors, wisely to behave our selves, safely to defend our selves, and advisedly to attempt any enterprise. For our life is so short that experience cannot sufficiently instruct us, considering withall that our yeeres are abridged, and neither our lives so long, nor our bodies so strong, as were our auncestors in ages past: which way as we are weakened, so is our faith also each to other much diminished,* in such sort, that I know not how one man may assure himselfe of another, especially great Princes, who are commonly inclined to all wilfulnes, without any regarde of reason, and (which is woorst of all) have for the most part such men about them, as studie onely to flatter them, and sooth them in all their dooings be they good or bad, and if some one endeavor himselfe to redresse this inconvenience, all the rest will straight be upon his top.

Farther I must needs blame ignorant and unlearned Princes in this respect also, they have all commonly about

* Others be of a contrarie opinion, that our life is as long as in Davids time appeereth by the 90 Psalme, where he sheweth the usuall age of man in his time to have beene seventie and sometime eightie yeeres, which men reach to at this day also, and if mans life be as long now as then, it is a good consequent that his bodie is as strong, as is to be proved by many reasons too long to reherse. Now that our faith is as good as theirs was in ages past appeereth also by the ancient histories, for if this be a true saying, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*. And the Princes in times past were so evill as none could be woorse, (as who so list to reade without partialitie shall be forced to confesse). I see no reason that the world should be woorse now than in times past, although it seeme so to manie, bicause we see the woorst of our owne age, yea and feele too many times, but commonly the histories deliver to us but the best of times past, and burie the woorst, and though they did, yet the evill scene with our eie is more lively imprinted in our minde, than the evill we conceive by our eare, which is the cause men ever thinke better of the times past, than the present estate.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

them great clarks and lawyers, as it is requisite they should if they be good, but if they be otherwise, they are the dangerousest people in the world to be about a Prince, for they have ever a law or an historie at their fingers ends, which be it never so good they writhe and wrest in such sort, that they will make blacke white, and white blacke. But those Princes that be wise and have read as well as they, will not suffer themselves to be abused by them, neither dare they be so hardy as to report untruthes to such Princes. Farther thinke you that God hath established the office of a King or Prince, to be executed by such beasts as glorie in saying: I am no scholer, I trust my Councell well ynough, and refer all matters to them, and so without farther answer depart to their sports and pastimes? No, no, if they had beene well trained up in their youth, they would use other language, and seeke to be esteemed for their owne vertues and woorthines. I say not that all Princes are served by evill conditioned persons, but sure the most part of those that I have seene have not alwaies had their courts free from such, although some Princes I confesse I have knowne that in time of necessitie could make choise of their men, and use the service of the best and wisest. Wherein sure the King our Master far passed all the Princes of his time, for never Prince advanced so highly, nor made so great account of wise and woorthie men as he did. He was himselfe reasonably well learned,* he was very inquisitive and desirous to understand of all matters, and had an excellent wit, which passeth all learning obtained by studie: for as reading profiteth two maner of waies, the one by acquainting us with ages past, and the other by teaching us more in a booke in three monthes, than twenty men living successively can learne by experience: so if a man lack wit to put that which he readeth in practise, his reading serveth to no purpose. Wherefore to end this discourse, me thinke the greatest plague that God can lay upon a realme, is to give them an unwise Prince, the root and fountaine of all mischief: for first division and civill wars arise thereof

* I marvell if King Lewis were learned, he would have his sonne to learne onely this lesson, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.*

CHAPTER VI

A discourse wherein is declared how greatly learning especially in histories profiteth Princes and noble men.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

A discourse
wherein is
declared how
greatly learn-
ing profiteth
Princes, etc.

among his subjects, because he giveth his authoritie to others, which especially above all things he ought to reserve to himselfe. After division ensueth famine and mortalitie, and all other evils that accompanie the wars, wherefore heerby we may consider how much a Princes subjects ought to lament, when they see his children wantonly brought up, and governed by evill conditioned persons.

CHAPTER VII

How and for what cause the King was staid and held prisoner in the castell of Peronne by the Duke of Burgundies commandement.



YOU have heard how the King and this armie of Burgundie arrived at Peronne both in one instant, for the Duke could not countermand them in time, because they were well forward upon the way when the Kings comming was first communed of. Their arrivall troubled the feast, because of divers jealousies that sprang thereof. Notwithstanding these two Princes appointed certaine of their servants to negotiate together about their affaires, in most loving and friendly sort. But after three or foure daies conference, these strange newes came from Liege which I will now rehearse. The King comming to Peronne had cleane forgotten his two ambassadors sent to Liege to sollicite them to rebell against the Duke, who so diligently executed their charge, that before the Kings arrivall at Peronne, the Liegeois had levied great force and were gone to surprise the towne of Tongres, where the Bishop of Liege and the Lord of Hymbercourt lodged, accompanied with two thousand men and better: and the said Bishop and Hymbercourt they tooke with certaine other of the Bishops familiar

PHILIP DE COMMINES

friends, but few they slew, neither was the number of prisoners great: the rest fled as men discomfited, leaving bag and baggage behinde them. This done the Liegeois returned towards their citie not far distant from Tongres: and upon the way thitherward the Lord of Hymbercourt compounded for his ransome with a knight called Master William de Ville, named by the French Le Sauvage, who fearing least this furious people should kill him, suffered him to depart upon his word: which notwithstanding he never challenged, for soone after himselfe was slaine. The people rejoiced much for the taking of their Bishop. Farther you shall understand that they hated extremely certaine chanons of the Church taken prisoners that day: of whom for the first repast they slew five or sixe, one of the which was named Master Robert the Bishops speciall friend, whom my selfe have often seene armed at all peeces waiting upon his Master, for such is the maner of the Alemaigne Prelates.* The said Master Robert they slew in the Bishops presence, and hewed him into a number of small gobbets which they threw one at another in derision. To be short, before their returne to Liege which was but eight leagues from Tongres, they slew sixteene chanons and others all in maner the Bishops servants. This done, they received advertisement that the treatie betweene the King and the Duke was alreadie begun, wherefore they dismissed certaine Burgundians, supposing to excuse their fault, by seeming to have attempted nothing against the Duke, but onely against their Bishop, whom they led prisoner into the citie. Those that escaped put all the countrie in an uprore as they went, by meanes whereof this newes came soone to the Duke: some said all were slaine, others the contrary, for such advertisements are never reported after one sort. At the length certaine arrived that saw these chanons slaine, who supposing the Bishop and Hymbercourt to be of the number, avowed constantly that all were murthered, and farther, that they saw the Kings ambassadors in the companie, whom

* These were chanons of S. Lambert in Liege, the which were not forced to be priests, but might come foorth and marie if they had not sung masse.—Guicci.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

How and for
what cause
the King was
staied and
held prisoner
in the castell
of Peronne.

also they named. All this was told the Duke, who fourth-
with beleevd it, and fell into an extreme fury, saying that
the King was come thither to abuse him, and gave com-
mandement to shut the gates of the castell and the towne,
spreading a fond rumor that he did it, bicause of a budget
with jewels and monie that was lost. The King seeing him-
selfe shut into this little castell, and a number of archers
before the gate: stood in a great doubt of his person, the
rather bicause he lodged hard by a great tower, in the which
an Earle of Vermandois had in times past caused a King of
France one of his predecessors to be slaine.* I was yet in
service with the Duke, and one of his privie chamber, into
the which I entred at my pleasure, according to the use of
this house of Burgundie. The Duke when the towne gates
were shut, commanded all men to voide his chamber, and
said to two or three of us that taried with him, that not-
withstanding he for his part had never any taste in this
meeting, but agreed to it onely to content the King: yet
the King on the contrarie side was come thither purposely
to abuse him. Then rehearsed he all these newes of Liege,
how the King had ordered the matter by his ambassadors
and caused all his men to be slaine: and such a rage he was
in against the King, and so threatened him, that I thinke
verily if those to whom he spake had pressed forward the
matter, and counselled him to worke the King some mischief,
he would have done it, at the least have imprisoned him in
the great tower above mentioned. None were present when
these words passed the Duke, but my selfe and two groomes
of his chamber, one of the which was named Charles of

* This Earle of Vermandois was named Hebart or Herbart, and the
King of France Charles le Simple, whom this Hebart slue in the
tower heere mentioned anno 926, or after *Annal. Burgund.* 921,
bicause the King had slain in battell Robert Duke of Aquitaine, or
after some of Anjou, who had married this Hebart's sister. But note
heere *pœnam talionis* upon the King, for as he was staied heere notwith-
standing the Dukes safe conduct: so had he him selfe taken and im-
prisoned by the space of two yeeres Philip Lord of Bresse, having
called him to him under his safe conduct,—Meyer. Of the Lord of
Bresses imprisonment our author maketh mention in the fift chapter
of this booke.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Visin borne at Dyjon, an honest gentleman and in good credit with his Master. We exasperated not the matter but sought to appease the Duke as much as in us lay, notwithstanding soone after he used the like speech to others, by meanes whereof it was blownen all over the towne, and came at length into the Kings chamber, who was in marvellous feare, as universally all men were, because of the great evils they saw like to ensue a quarel begun between two so great Princes, who sure were both blame woorthie, for that they advertised not their servants of this meeting, who were far from them executing their commandements, whereby some great inconvenience was sure to ensue.

CHAPTER VII

How and for what cause the King was staied and held prisoner in the castell of Peronne.

CHAPTER VIII

A discourse wherein is shewed, that an interview betweene two great Princes for treatie of their affaires hurteth more than profiteth.



It is great folly for two Princes being in maner of equall force and estate to meete together, unlesse it be in their youth when their mindes are wholly set upon pleasures and pastimes, but after they are come to mans estate, and grown desirous to encroch each upon other, such interviewes do but increase their hatred and evill wil, though happily their persons might be there in safetie, which notwithstanding I holde almost a thing impossible. Wherefore it is better to pacifie all controversies by wise and discrete men, as before I have said: for prooffe whereof I will rehearse certaine examples that have happened in my time, some of the which my selfe have seene, and of the rest have bene credibly informed.

A few yeeres after King Lewis his coronation before the

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

Wherein is
shewed, that
an interview
betweene two
great Princes
for treatie of
their affaires
hurteth more
than profiteth.

war called the WEALE PUBLIKE began, a sollemne meeting was appointed betweene him and the King of Castile,* which are the two nearest confederated Princes in Christendome, for their league is betweene King and King, Realme and Realme, and man and man of their subjects, which also they are both bound under great curses to keepe and observe inviolable. To this meeting came Henry King of Castile with a goodly traine to Fontarabia, and the King our Master to Saint Iohn de Luz fower leagues distant, both of them being upon the frontires of their dominions. I was not present my selfe at this meeting, but I have heard both the King and the Lord of Lau make report thereof, and have beene enformed of it also by certaine Lords of Castile there present with the King their Master, who came to this enter-view accompanied with the Lord great Master of Saint Iames, and the Archbishop of Tolledo which two bare all the sway in Castile at that time, the Earle of Lodesme the King of Castiles minion was there also in great braverie, and all the said Kings garde, being to the number of three hundred horse, all Moores of Granado and some of them Negros. But King Henry himselfe was a man of so small understanding, that he gave away all his inheritance, at the least suffered every man that would to spoile him of it: our King was also accompanied with a goodly traine, as you know his maner was, but his garde especially was brave and in very good order. To this meeting came in like maner the Queene of Arragon about a controversie betweene hir and the King of Castile, for Estelle and certaine other places in Navarre: whereof the King was made arbitrator. But now for prooffe that such interviewes betweene great Princes are not meet nor convenient, you shall understand that these two Kings had never beene at variance, there was no quarrell betweene them, neither saw they one another past once or twice upon a river side that parteth both their realmes,† hard by a little castell called Heurtebise, where the King of Castile passed to the hither side of the river. At their first meeting they had no great liking one of another, especially

* The meeting of the King and the King of Castile was anno 1463.

† The river where the two Kings met was named Andaye.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

our King, who perceived the King of Castile to be but a simple man doing nothing of himselfe, but wholly governed by the great Master of Saint Iames and the Archbishop of Tolledo above mentioned. Wherefore he made no account of their Master but sought their friendship, whereupon they came to him to Saint Iohn de Luz where he entred into amitie with them, and had great intelligence by their meanes. The greatest part of both these Princes traines lay at Bayonne, and at the very first meeting fell together by the eares, notwithstanding their league: and no marvell. For their maners and languages differed. Afterward the Earle of Lodesme came also to visite the King; and passed the river in a boate, the saile whereof was cloth of gold. Farther he ware a paire of buskins embrodred thicke with stone, for he was a Prince of great wealth and revenues in Castile, and created since Duke of Albourg. In the end these two confederate nations began to scoffe and jest each at other, the King of Castile was deformed, and the French misliked his apparell, wherefore they derided him. Our King ware his apparell very short, and marvellous uncomely, and was clad sometime in very course cloth, besides that, he ware an old hat, differing from all the rest of his companie, and an image of lead upon it, whereat the Castilians jested, saying that this proceeded of miserie. Thus ended this enterview with such scoffes and taunts, that afterward these two Princes never loved together. Farther great dissention arose among the King of Castiles servants, which continued till his death and long after, in such sort that I have seene him the poorest Prince that ever raigned, and abandoned of all his servants and subjects. The Queene of Arragon departed also discontented, for the King pronounced sentence for the King of Castile. Wherefore both the King of Arragon hir husband and she hated him ever after. And notwithstanding that they used his helpe a while in their necessitie against the towne of Barcelonne, yet endured not their friendship, but wars arose betweene them, which continued above sixteene yeeres, and the controversie remaineth yet undecided. Now to proceede to other examples.

Duke Charles of Burgundie since the time above men-

CHAPTER VIII

Wherein is shewed, that an interview betweene two great Princes for treatie of their affaires hurteth more than profiteth.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

Wherein is
shewed, that
an interview
betweene two
great Princes
for treatie of
their affaires
hurteth more
than profiteth.

tioned, by his owne great sute and sollicitation, met with the Emperor Fredericke now raigning, at Treves,* where the Duke made great preparation to shew his pompe and magnificencie. The Emperor and he treated there of many matters, and among the rest, of their childrens mariage, which was afterward accomplished. But when they had bene together a certaine space, the Emperor to the Dukes great reproch and dishonor departed without leave taking, wherefore they never loved after, neither themselves nor their subjects. The Almaines disdained the Dukes pompe and loftie maner of speech, saying that it proceeded of pride, the Burgundians on the contrarie side despised the Emperors small traine, and simple attire. To be short, this jar grew so great that the wars of Nuz sprang thereof.

I was also at Saint Paul in Artois when the Duke of Burgundie and King Edward of England met there.† The Duke had married his sister, they were companions of one order, and abode there together two daies. The Kings servants were divided into two factions, and both the parties complained to the Duke, who enclining more to the one than the other, encreased their hatred, and notwithstanding that, he aided the King for the recoverie of his realme, (out of the which he was chased by the Earle of Warwick) and furnished him both of men, money, and ships: yet after this meeting, they never loved together, neither could affoord each other a good word.

I was likewise at Bruxels when the Palszgrave of the Rheine came thither to the Duke of Burgundie, where he was honorably receaved, sumptuously feasted, and lodged in a chamber richly furnished. The Dukes men reported the Almaines to be slovens, and void of civilitie, alledging that they threw their mirie bootes upon these rich and stately beds, wherefore ever after they made lesse account of them, than before they knew them. The Almaines on the contrarie

* The meeting between the Emperour and the Duke was saith Munster anno 1469, Berlandus saith anno 1472, Meyer 1473, the 23 of September.

† What yeere the meeting of King Edward and the Duke was at Saint Paul appeereth afterward, lib. 3. cap. 6.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

side like envious persons misliked this great pompe. To conclude, after this they never loved together, neither sought to pleasure one another.

I saw also the meeting of the Duke of Burgundy, and D. Sigismunde of Austrich,* who sold unto the said Duke the County of Ferrette, bordering upon the County of Burgundy for a hundred thousand gildons, not being able to defend it against the Switzers. These two Princes liked not greatly one another. Afterward also Duke Sigismunde made peace with the Switzers, and tooke againe the said County of Ferrette without paying backe the money, whereof ensued infinite harmes to the Duke of Burgundie. At the selfe same time also came the Earle of Warwicke to the Duke, who after their meeting were mortall enimies each to other.

I was also present at the enterviewe betweene the King our master, and King Edward of England at Picquigny,† neere to Amiens, whereof I will make mention heereafter more at large. All that they did there was but meere dissimulation, for they performed no whit of that they promised. And notwithstanding, that they were never after in war together (bicause the sea severed them) yet perfect friendship was there none betweene them. Wherefore to conclude this discourse, me thinke that two great Princes minding to continue in amitie, ought never to meete together. The occasions of troubles that arise at such assemblies are these, their servants can not refraine from talking of matters past, and words will easily be taken in evill part. Secundarily, it is impossible, but that the traine of the one should be in better order than the other, whereof scoffes arise, which they that are scoffed stomacke. Thirdly, if they be two nations, their language and apparell differ, and that that pleaseth the one displeaseth the other. Last of all, it commonly hapneth that the personage of the one Prince is comlier and better to be liked than the other, wherefore he is praised, and rejoiceth and

CHAPTER VIII

Wherein is shewed, that an interview betweene two great Princes for treatie of their affaires hurteth more than profiteth.

* Ferrette was engaged to the Duke about midsommer ann. 1469 for seventie thousande crownes,—*Annal. Burgund.*; but Meyer saith anno 1467 for fifty thousand gildons, and other say for 80 thousand gildons.

† When this meeting was at Picquigny looke lib. 4.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

Wherein is
shewed, that
an interview
betweene two
great Princes
for treatie,
etc.

glorieth to heare his owne commendation, which cannot be without the dispraise of the other. And notwithstanding that three or fower daies peradventure after the assembly ended, these matters be communed of closely and covertly in mens eares: yet by use they fall in time in open talke at dinners and suppers, and so are reported to both the parties, for fewe things in this world can be concealed, especially tales and reports. Thus you have heard the reasons and examples that my selfe have seene touching this point.

CHAPTER IX

How the King to deliver himselfe out of the
castell of Peronne, renounced his league
with the Liegeois.



OW to retorne after my long discourse, to the King who was staied at Peronne, as you have heard, the gates remained shut with watch and warde before them two or three daies, all the which time the Duke sawe not the King, neither entered any French man into the castell but by the wicket, and but few after that sort, notwithstanding none of the Kings servants were forbidden to repaire to him, but few or none of the Dukes went to commune with him, neither yet into his chamber, especially of those that were of any credit with the Duke. The first day all men were in great feare, and muttered up and downe the towne: the second the Duke was somewhat pacified, and sate in counsell almost the whole day, and part also of the night. The King caused all those to be laboured that he thought could aide him in this extremitie, making them large offers and promises, and commanded also fiftene thousand crownes to be divided among the Dukes servants,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

but he to whom the charge was committed acquit himselfe not faithfully thereof: for part of the money he retained to his owne use, as the King afterward understood. The King feared especially those above named, that came with this armie of Burgundie, who in times past had beene his owne servants, but were now his brother the Duke of Normandies as they said. In this councell above mentioned this matter was diversly debated, some were of opinion that the safe conduct given to the King should not be broken, seeing he offered to sweare the treatie as it was articulated in writing: others gave counsell rudely to imprison him without farther ceremonie, and others to send for his brother the Duke of Normandie, and to conclude a peace for the advantage of al the Princes of Fraunce. They that gave this advise thought if their opinion tooke place, that the King should be restrained of his libertie for ever, and held continually under garde, because a great Prince being in the hands of his enimie, and used after such sort, never or very hardly recovereth his libertie for feare of revenge. This last opinion failed not much to take effect: for the matter was so far forward that I saw a man booted, and ready to depart with a packet of letters to the Duke of Normandie being then in Britaine, and staid onely for the Duke of Burgundies letter, notwithstanding all this was dashed againe. The King caused certaine overtures to be made, offering to leave there in hostage the Duke of Bourbon and the Cardinall his brother, and the Constable, with divers others, under this condition, that the peace being concluded he might depart to Compiegne, promising incontinent either to cause the Liegeois to repaire the harmes done, or to declare himselfe their enimie. They whom the King named for hostages outwardly made earnest offer of themselves, I know not whether they ment as they said, and I doubt me they did not: for I verily beleieve if the King had left them there, they should never have returned into Fraunce.

All this night being the third after the newes came, the Duke never unclothed himselfe, but lay downe twice or thrise upon his bed, and then rose and walked: for such was his maner when he was troubled. I lay that night my selfe in

CHAPTER IX

How the King
to deliver
himselfe out
of the castell
of Peronne,
renounced his
league with
the Liegeois.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

IX

How the King
to deliver
himselfe out
of the castell
of Peronne,
renounced his
league with
the Liegeois.

his chamber, and communed with him divers times. In the morning he was farther out of patience than ever before, using terrible menaces, and being ready to execute some great matter: notwithstanding in the end he was pacified, and resolved to hold himselfe contented, if the King would sweare the treatie, and go with him to Liege to helpe to revenge the injuries the Liegeois had done him, and the Bishop of Liege his cosen, with the which message suddenly he departed into the Kings chamber, whereof the King had a privie watch word by a friend,* who advertised him that nothing was to be feared if he agreed to these two points, otherwise that he should put himselfe in so great danger, that none could be greater. When the Duke came to the Kings presence, his voice trembled, and even there he was like to fall into a new rage, so much was he troubled. His behaviour towards the King was humble and lowly, but his countenance furious, and his language sharpe, for he asked him in few words whether he would observe the treatie concluded, and also sweare it: Whereunto the King answered that he would. For you shall understand that the said treatie as touching the Duke of Burgundie himselfe was altered in no point otherwise than it was concluded before Paris, and as touching the Duke of Normandies partage, it was much amended for the King. For it was agreed that in stead of Normandie he should have Champaine and Brie, and certaine other places there about, for his partage. Then the Duke asked him againe, whether he would go with him to Liege to helpe him to revenge the treason the Liegeois had wrought by his meanes, and by his comming thither, putting him also in minde of the neere kinned that was betweene the said King and the Bishop of Liege, being of the house of Bourbon, whereunto the King answered, that after he had sworne the treatie (which was the thing he most desired) he would accompanie him to Liege, and lead thither with him, as small or as great force as the Duke should thinke good: at which words the Duke much rejoiced, and incontinent the treatie of peace was brought, and the

* It was Commynes himselfe that gave the King advise not to refuse to go to Liege with the Duke.—*Annal. Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

selfe same crosse that Charlemaigne usually ware called the crosse of victorie: taken out of the Kings coffers, and there the two Princes sware the treatie:* whereupon all the bels in the towne rang for joy, and all men were glad and rejoiced. It hath pleased the King since to attribute this honor to me, that I did him great service in furthering this accord. The Duke sent these newes foorthwith into Britaine and the treatie with all, wherein he severed not himselfe from the said two Dukes, but named them his confederates. And sure the Lord Charles had now a good partage in respect of the treatie made in Britaine, whereby he should have had but a pension onely of sixtie thousand franks as before you have heard.

CHAPTER IX

How the King to deliver himselfe out of the castell of Peronne, renounced his league with the Liegeois.

CHAPTER X

How the King accompanied the Duke of Burgundie, making war upon the Liegeois, who before were his confederates.



THE next day after the treatie sworne, the King and the Duke departed from Peronne, and went to Cambray, and from thence into the countrey of Liege in the very beginning of winter, and in a marvelous foule season. The King had with him few soldiers or none, others than the Scottish men of his gard, but gave commandement that three hundred men of armes shoulde follow after him. The Dukes armie was divided into two bands, the one led by the Marshall of Burgundie (so often already mentioned) in the which were all the Burgundians, and the noble men of Savoye above named, besides great forces of the countries

* The peace of Peronne was sworne the fourteenth day of October, ann. 1468,—Meyer, lib. 17. fol. 346, pag. 1, where reade also the conditions of the peace.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

X

How the King accompanied the Duke of Burgundie, making war upon the Liegeois.

of Haynault, Luxembourg, Namur, and Lambourg, the other band the Duke himselfe lead, and when they drew neere the citie of Liege they debated in the Dukes presence what was to be done. Some gave advise to dismisse part of the army, considering that the gates and wals of the citie were rased the yeere before, and the citizens in utter despaire of succour: the King himselfe being there in person against them, and offering in maner the selfe same conditions of peace on their behalfe that were demanded. The Duke allowed not of this opinion, which was a happie turne for him, for if he had, he had marred all, but his suspition of the King caused him to take the wisest course: and sure his Captaines opinion in thinking themselves too strong, proceeded either of great pride or of great follie. Notwithstanding I have often heard divers Captaines give the like advise, some bicause they thinke thereby to win an opinion of hardinesse, and some for that they understand not the matters debated, but wise Princes weigh not such fond opinions. As touching this point, the King our Master had learned his lesson, for he was slowe and fearfull in attempting any thing: so when he once tooke an enterprise in hand, he so thoroughly furnished himselfe of every thing thereunto appertaining, that he could not but obtaine his purpose.

Order was then given that the Marshall of Burgundie with his band should go before and lodge in the citie, and if the citizens made difficultie to receive him, as it was thought they would not, bicause divers of them were already come to the Duke to treat of peace, that then he should attempt to enter by force. The said Marshall and his companie went to Namur, and the next day departed thence, and the King and the Duke arrived there. But when the Marshall approached neere the citie, this foolish people sallied forth to the skirmish and were easily repulsed, and a great number slaine, the rest retired into the towne, and at that very instant escaped their Bishop and came to us. Within the towne was a legate sent thither by the Pope to understand of the variance betweene the Bishop and the people, and to pacifie the matter. For the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them was yet unrevoked, bicause

PHILIP DE COMMINES

of their offences above rehearsed. This legate passing the bounds of his commission, favored altogether the people in hope to obtaine the Bishoprick for himselfe, and commanded them to take armes for their defence, and encouraged them to divers other follies. Notwithstanding now seeing the citie in this danger, he issued forth with intent to flie, but was taken and all his traine being to the number of five and twentie very well mounted. The Duke hearing these newes seemed notwithstanding to take no notice thereof, but sent word to those that tooke him that they should lead him into some secret place, and make their profit of him as of some merchant, and in no wise to advertise him of this accident, alleaging that if he came openly into his campe, he could not suffer them to keepe him, but must of force deliver him, for honor of the sea apostolike. Notwithstanding they could not do as they were commanded, but fell at variance for him in such sort, that openly at diner time certaine that claimed part in the bootie, came and complained to the Duke: wherefore he sent immediately and tooke him from them, and restored him all that he lost, and entertained him very honorably.

This vaward led by the Marshall of Burgundie and the Lord of Hymbercourt, marched straight to the citie, supposing to enter without resistance, and through covetousnes (hoping to have the spoile thereof to themselves) refused the composition that was offered, neither thought it needfull to tarric for the King and the Duke, being seven or eight leagues behinde them, but marched with such speede that they arrived at the towne by twilight, and entred into a certaine suburbs leading straight to a gate that the citizens had somewhat repaired. There the Liegeois and they parled together but could not agree. In the meane time they were benighted, their lodgings were unmade, neither was the place large ynough for the seate of their campe, beside that they were in great disorder, some walked up and downe, some called their masters, their companions, and their captaines: which folly and disorder Master Iohn de Villette and other captains of the Liegeois perceiving, tooke hart and determined to issue forth, and their misfortune I meane the ruine

CHAPTER X

How the King accompanied the Duke of Burgundie, making war upon the Liegeois.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

X

How the King
accompanied
the Duke of
Burgundie,
making war
upon the
Liegeois.

of their wals, served them to good purpose in this enterprise : for they salied foorth where liked them best by the breaches thereof, and came in order of battell to the foremost ranks of the Burgundians. Farther, among the vines and little hils they assailed the pages and straglers that walked their Masters horses without the suburbs by the which our men entred. A great number of good soldiers were there slaine, but a greater number fled, for the night covereth all shame. To be short, the Liegeois so couragiously executed their enterprise, that they slue at the least eight hundred : one hundred of them being men of armes. But the hardie and valiant soldiers of this vaward being in maner all men of armes and gentlemen of good houses, joyned themselves together, and marched with ensigne displaid straight to the gate, fearing the citizens salie there. The waies were marvelous deepe, bicause of continuall raine, in such sort that the men of armes being all on foote stood in mire above the ankles. Once all the citizens thought to salie foorth at the said gate with great torches and lights, but our men had mounted fower good peeces of artillerie in the very mouth thereof, the which shot twice or thrise along the high streete, and slew a great number, whereupon they all retired out of the suburbs, and shut their gates. But during this skirmish in the suburbs, the others that had salied forth to assaile the pages above mentioned, tooke certaine carts neere to the towne, in the which they lodged themselves very uncommodiously, and taried without the citie from two of the clocke after midnight, till sixe in the morning, but so soone as the day brake that one might descrie another, they were repulsed, and in their retraict Master Iohn de Villette, and one or two more of their captains hurt, who died all within two daies after.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XI

How the King arrived in person with the Duke of Burgundie, before the citie of Liege.



NOTWITHSTANDING that salies out of a towne be somtimes necessary, yet are they very dangerous for those that defend the place, for the losse of ten men is more to them, than of an hundred to those that besiege them, first bicause their number is not equall, secondarily bicause they cannot put men into the towne at pleasure, and lastly bicause haply they may loose one of their principall leaders, which mishap causeth oftentimes the losse also of the place. These discomfortable newes were forthwith brought to the Duke, lying fower or five leagues from the towne, and the first report was, that his whole vaward was discomfited, yet that notwithstanding he and the whole armie mounted on horsebacke, commanding that no word should be made to the King of this misfortune. And when he drew neere the citie on the contrarie side to that where his vaward lay, he was advertised that all was well, and the losse nothing so great as was thought, neither any man of name slaine but a knight of Flaunders named Monsieur de Sergine, notwithstanding they sent him word that the valiant gentlemen and soldiers of this vaward were utterly wearied, and in great trouble and distresse, for all that night they had stooode upright in the mire by the towne gate. Farther they told him that certaine of the footemen that fled were returned so discouraged, that they seemed unfit for any great exploit. Wherefore they desired him for Gods love to make haste, to the end the citizens might be forced to retire every man to the defence of his owne quarter, and that it would please him to sende them some vittailles, for they had not one morsell of meat. The Duke forthwith commanded two

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XI

How the
King arrived
in person with
the Duke of
Burgundie,
before the
citie of Liege.

or three hundred to ride thither as fast as their horses could gallop, to comfort his soldiers, and sent after them all the vittailles he could come by, and so was it high time, for by the space of two daies almost and a night, they had neither eaten nor drunke, unlesse it were some one that caried a draught of wine in a bottel. Besides that, the weather was marvelous foule, neither could they possibly enter the towne on that side they lay, unlesse the Duke embusied the enimie on the other side. A great number of them were hurt, and among the rest the Prince of Orenge (whom I had forgotten to name before) who behaved himselfe that day like a couragious gentleman, for he never mooved foote off the place he first possessed. The Lords of Lau and Urfé did also very valiantly, but the number of the footemen that fled the night of the skirmish was at the lest ten thousand. It was almost darke night when the Duke receaved this newes, but after he had dispatched all his busines he returned to his ensigne and rehearsed the whole order of the skirmish to the King, who rejoiced to heare that all was so well, for the contrary might have turned to his prejudice. When they approached neere the towne, a great number of gentlemen and men of armes lighted on foote with the archers to take the suburbes which were easily woon, and there the bastard of Burgundie (who had great charge in this armie under the Duke,) the Lord of Ravastaine, the Earle of Roucy the Constables sonne, and divers other gentlemen lodged, even hard by the gate, which the enimies had also repaired as the former. The Duke lodged in the midst of the suburbes, but the King lay that night in a great grange, a quarter of a league from the towne, where was very good lodging, being accompanied with a great number of men, as well of his owne as of ours.

This towne is situate upon mountaines and vallies, and in a marvellous fruitfull soile,* the river of Maze runneth through it: it is about the greatnes of Roan, and was at that time a marvellous populous citie. From the gate where we lodged to the other where our vaward lay, the way was short through the towne, but without, it was at the least

* Of the seate of this towne read Guicci, pag. 370.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

three leagues going, so crooked and foule are the waies especially in winter, in the midst whereof we came thither. Their wals were all rased, so that they might salie forth where best liked them, and their defence was onely a little rampar of earth: for the towne was never ditched, bicause the foundation is hard and sharpe rocke. The first night of the Dukes arrivall, our vaward was much refreshed and eased: for the force within the towne was then divided into two parts. About midnight they gave us a hot alarme, whereupon the Duke issued forthwith into the streete, and soone after arrived also the King and the Constable with great speede, considering how far off they lay. Some cried they salie out at such a gate, others spake divers discomfortable words, the darke and rainie weather increased also their feare. The Duke lacked no courage, but failed sometime in good order giving: and to say the truth, at this time he behaved not himselfe so advisedly as many wished, bicause of the Kings presence. Wherefore the King tooke upon him authoritie to command, and said to the Constable, Leade your men into such a quarter, for if they salie that is their way: and sure both his words and behaviour shewed him to be a Prince of great vertue and wisdom, and well acquainted with such exploits: notwithstanding this great alarme proved nothing, whereupon the King and the Duke returned to their lodging.

The next morning came the King and lodged also in the suburbs in a little house hard by the Dukes lodging, accompanied with an hundred Scottish men of his garde, and his men of armes lying in a little village hard by him, which bred great suspicion in the Duke that he would either enter the citie, or escape before it were taken,* or peradventure worke him some displeasure lying so neere him. Wherefore he put into a great grange just betweene their two lodgings three hundred men of armes, being all the flower of his

* Basinus writeth that the Duke for divers considerations had rather have lacked the Kings companie than have had it, but that the King to blind the Duke with a pretence of good will offered himselfe to go with him, which report all the circumstances considered seemeth utterly repugnant to truth.

CHAPTER XI

How the
King arrived
in person with
the Duke of
Burgundie,
before the
citie of Liege.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

XI

How the
King arrived
in person with
the Duke of
Burgundie,
before the
citie of Liege.

house, who brake downe the panes of the wals to saly foorth the more speedily if need so required, and these had their eies continually upon the Kings lodging which was hard by them. The siege continued eight daies, during which space neither the Duke nor any of the companie unarmed themselves. But the evening before the towne was taken, the Duke determined to assault it the next morning being Sondag the 30 of October, the yeer 1468, and the token given to our vaward was this, that when they heard one bombard and two great serpentines discharged one incontinent after another, without any more shot, they should then courageously go to the assault, and the Duke on his side would do the like. Farther, the hower appointed for the enterprise was eight of the clocke in the morning. The same night the assault was thus concluded, the Duke unarmed himselfe, which since the beginning of the siege he had not done, and commanded the whole armie, especially those that lodged in the grange betweene his lodging and the Kings to do the like, to the end they might refresh themselves: but the selvesame night the citizens as though they had beene advertised of this determination, concluded to make a salie out of the towne on this side, as they had before on the other.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XII

How the Liegeois made a desperate salie upon the Duke of Burgundies men, where he and the King were in great danger.



WILL now rehearse an example whereby you shal perceive how easily even a few enimies may worke a great Prince displeasure, and how much it importeth Princes throughly to way their enterprises before they attempt them. Within this citie was not one man of war but of their owne territorie, they had with them

neither knight nor esquire: for those few they had were either slaine or hurt two or three daies before in the salie above mentioned. They were unfurnished of gates, wals, trenches and artillerie ought woorth. To be short, within the towne were none but the citizens themselves, and seven or eight hundred footemen of a little territorie beyond Liege, called Franche-mount: true it is that the people of those parts have ever beene accounted good soldiers. But now to the matter. These Liegeois despairing of succours, seeing the King there in person against them, concluded to make a desperate salie, and to put all things in adventure, knowing themselves to be but lost men.

Their enterprise was this, they determined that by the breaches of their wals hanging over the backside of the Dukes lodging, their best soldiers being sixe hundred men of the countrey of Franchemont should salie foorth, leading with them for guides the hosts of the Kings lodging and of the Dukes. Farther there lay a privie way through the rocks, by the which they might come under covert almost to the lodgings of both these Princes before they were discovered, provided that they made no noise: and as touching our scouters that lay in their way, they made account either to

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

How the
Liegeois made
a desperate
salie upon the
Duke of Bur-
gundies men.

kill them, or to be at the Princes lodgings assoone as they. Thus they resolved to follow these two hosts into their houses, where the two Princes lodged, without staying by the way in any place, hoping to steale upon them on such a sudden, that either they would kill them, or leade them away prisoners before their forces could come to succour them, considering withall how short their retrait was into the towne, and if the woorst fell (that was to die :) they were fully resolved in the executing of such an enterprise to take their death in good part : for they sawe themselves but lost men on all sides. They gave order also that all the people of the towne with hue and crie, should issue forth at the gate opening upon the suburbs where we lay, trusting thereby to discomfite all our companie that lodged there. Neither were they out of hope of a goodly victorie, at the least they were sure of a glorious end. This their enterprise notwithstanding it had been desperate and dangerous, though they had been accompanied with a thousand valiant men of armes : yet these fewe failed not much to achieve it. For according to their determination, these sixe hundred men of Franchemont salied forth by the breaches of their wals, about ten of the clocke at night, and came on a sudden upon our scouts and slew them, three of them being gentlemen of the Dukes house, and if they had gone straight forth without any noise to the place appointed, undoubtedly they had slaine both these Princes in their beds. But you shall understand that behind the Duke of Burgundies lodging, there was a pavilion where the Duke of Alenson that now is, and Monsieur de Cran lodged. There these Liegeois staid a while and thrust their pikes through it, and slew a serving man within it : whereupon a noise arose in the campe which caused some to arme themselves, at the least to arise. From this pavilion they departed towards the two Princes lodgings, whereunto adjoined the grange above mentioned, into the which the Duke had put three hundred men of armes. There they staid a while also, and thrust their pikes in at the panes of the wals which these men of armes had broken downe to salie forth with the more speede. All the gentlemen that lay there had unarmed themselves not past two howers before

PHILIP DE COMMINES

to refresh them against the assault the next morning : in the which estate these Liegeois found them. Notwithstanding a few of them having put on their quiracies because of the noise they heard at the Duke of Alençons pavilion, fought with their enemies at the broken panes of the walls, and at the doore, which was the only preservation of these two great Princes lives : for this delay gave a great many leisure to arme themselves and to come forth into the street. I lay that night in the Dukes chamber (which was very straight) with two other gentlemen of his privie chamber, and above him lodged twelve archers that kept the watch and sat up at dice, but the body of his watch stode by the towne gate farre from his lodging. To be short the Dukes host came with a band of Liegeois, and assailed his owne house the Duke being within it, upon such a sudden that we hardly had leisure to buckle his quirage about him and put a sallet on his hed : for immediately as we went downe the staires to issue forth into the street, we found our archers busied in defending the doore and windowes against the Liegeois : farther there was a marvellous noise in the streetes, some cried God save the King, others God save the Duke, and others God save the King, kill, kill, kill. It was two Pater nosters while before our archers and we could get forth of the house, we knewe not in what estate the King was, nor whether he were with us or against us, which much troubled us. Incontinent after we were issued forth with two or three torches, we met others in the streetes with lights also, and sawe fighting and killing round about us, but the conflict soone ended : for men came running on all sides to the Dukes lodging. The first man of the enemies that was slaine was the Dukes host, but he died not presently, for my selfe heard him speake. To be short all the Liegeois that accompanied him, a very few excepted were also slaine. They assaulted in like maner the Kings lodging, into the which his host entred and was slaine by the Scottishmen of his garde, who shewed themselves tall fellows : for they never stirred from their Masters foot, but shot arrowes continually which hurt moe Burgundians then Liegeois. The citizens appointed to issue forth at the towne gate salied

CHAPTER XII

How the Liegeois made a desperate salie upon the Duke of Burgundies men.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

How the
Liegeois made
a desperate
salie upon the
Duke of Bur-
gundies men.

accordingly, but our watch being assembled repulsed them incontinent, neither shewed they themselves so desperate as these others. Immediately after these were beaten backe, the King and the Duke met, doubting because of the number they sawe slaine, their owne losse to be great : notwithstanding of their men few were slaine, but many hurt. Undoubtedly if these Liegeois had not staid at these two places above mentioned, especially at the grange where they found resistance, but had followed these two hosts being their guides, they had slaine both the King and the Duke, and thereby peradventure discomfited the whole armie. Both the Princes returned to their lodgings woonderfully abashed at this desperate enterprise, and forthwith sat in counsell to take advise what should be done touching the assault the next morning. The King seemed to stand in great doubt of the matter in respect of himselfe in very deed, for knowing how greatly the Duke doubted wars with Fraunce if he were once out of his hands : he feared if the citie could not be taken by assault, that his returne into his realme should be delaied, and peradventure himselfe emprisoned for the Dukes better securitie. Whereby you may perceive in how miserable estate these two Princes lived, which could by no means assure themselves each of other : for they had concluded and solemnly sworne a finall peace not past fifteen daies before, yet could all this put neither of them in assurance.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XIII

How the citie of Liege was assaulted, taken, and spoiled, and the Churches also.



THE King to rid himselfe of all danger, about an hower after his returne from this salie above mentioned to his lodging, sent for certaine of the Duke sprincipal servants that had been in counsell about the assault, and inquired of them what was concluded. They tolde him that the resolution was to assault the citie the next morning, according to the order first appointed. Then he very wisely began to alleage divers great doubts, which pleased well the Dukesmen, for they all feared the assault marvellously both bicause of the great number of people within the towne, and also bicause of the desperate salie made not past two howers before: wherefore being desirous to stay the assault for two or three daies, and take the towne by composition, they went foorthwith to the Duke to make report of the Kings allegations, my selfe being present when they came. There they rehearsed all the doubts the King alleaged, and as many as they themselves could devise, but all they fathered upon the King, doubting that he would not take it well at their hands. The D. answered, that the King alleaged these doubts only to save the citicens, and tooke it in evill part, saying that there could be no danger in the enterprise, considering that they within could make no counterbatterie, neither had any wals for their defence, adding also that the rampars they had made at the gates were already beaten downe, wherefore he would use no further delay, but go to the assault the next morning, as it was concluded. Notwithstanding he would be contented that the King, if it so pleased him, should go to Namur till the

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIII

How the
citie of Liege
was assaulted,
taken, and
spoiled, and
the Churches
also.

taking of the towne under this condition, not to depart thence till the issue of this enterprise were seene: which answer pleased none of them all, for every man feared the assault bicause of this salie. The Dukes answere was reported to the King, not in so hard termes as he delivered it, but in much milder language. The King understood the meaning of it well ynough, and said he would not go to Namur, but be at the assault the next day among the rest. In mine opinion if he had been so disposed, he might very easily have escaped that night, for he had with him an hundred archers of his garde, and certaine gentlemen of his house, besides three hundred men of armes that lodged hard by him: but undoubtedly where he stood upon his honor he would not be stained with cowardise. Every man reposed himselfe in his armor til morning, and some disposed of their consciences, bicause the enterprise seemed very dangerous. When it was brode day light, and that the hower appointed drew neere, which was eight of the clocke, the Duke commanded the bombard and the two serpentines to be discharged, thereby to advertise our vaward of the assault, which lay on the other side far from us, if you take the way without the towne, but not far going through it, as before you have heard. They hearing the shot incontinent prepared themselves to the assault. The Dukes trumpets sounded, and his ensignes were avaunced towards the wals, their bands following them. The King stood in the midst of the streete very well accompanied, for all his three hundred men of armes, his garde, and certain noble men, and gentlemen of his house were with him. And when we approached so neere the wals that they and weshould have joined, no resistance was founde, neither any man upon the wals, save two or three of the watch, all the rest were gone to diner, supposing we would not give the assault upon the Sondag, so that we found the cloth laid in every house at our entry. Small account is to be made of rude people unlesse they be led by some captaine whom they reverence, although somtime in their furie they be greatly to be feared.

These Liegeois were before the assault marvelously spent
152

PHILIP DE COMMINES

and wearied, partly because of their two salies, wherein they lost a great number of their men and all their leaders, and partly because of the great labor and travell they had sustained the space of eight daies: for because they lay open to the enimie on al sides, they were al forced to be continually upon the wals, and I suppose they thought to repose themselves this day because of the Sabaoth, but it chaunced to them contrarie to their expectation. On that side we entred was no resistance made, and lesse on the other where our vawarde lay, which entred the towne before us. Fewe were slaine,* for all the people fled by the bridge over the river of Maze towards the countrey of Ardennes, and from thence to other places for their more safetie. On the side that we entred I sawe but two men and one woman slaine, neither thinke I that there died two hundred persons in all, for the rest fled or hid themselves in churches and houses. The King seeing no resistance, and the whole armie (being as I ghesse to the number of fortie thousand) throng into the towne at two breaches, marched forward at leasure, to whom the Duke being entred a good way into the citie sodainly returned, and accompanied him to the palace, from whence he went to the cathedrall Church of Saint Lambert,† which his men were about to breake into by force to take prisoners and spoile that was conveighed thither. And notwithstanding that he had appointed certaine of his house to garde the said Church: yet could they not do it because the soldiers assaulted both the doores. Wherefore the Duke himselfe went thither, and one man I saw him kill with his

CHAPTER XIII

How the
citie of Liege
was assaulted,
taken, and
spoiled, and
the Churches
also.

* Some write that there were slaine in one day at Liege 100000, and Munster writeth forty thousand, and 12000 women drowned in the river, which seemeth to disagree with Commynes, who reporteth not above 200 to have beene slaine: notwithstanding our author must heere not be understood so strictly as though there had not died above 200 in all, for his meaning is onely that at the entrance into the towne, there were not slaine above two hundred, otherwise considering the number that were slaine in Churches, houses, and flight it cannot be but that manie thousands died, neither is our authors meaning otherwise.

† Some copies have Saint Laurence, but the old copie Saint Lambert which *Annal. Burgund.* and Guicci. report to bee the principall Church in Liege.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIII

How the
citic of Liege
was assaulted,
taken, and
spoiled, and
the Churches
also.

owne hand,* wherupon all the companie disparkled, and the Church was unspoiled. Notwithstanding in the end, they that were within it were taken and their goods also. The rest of the churches (being so many in number, that I have heard the Lord of Hymbercourt, who knew the towne well, report as many masses to be sung there every day as in Rome†) were in maner all spoiled under colour of taking prisoners. For mine owne part I entred into none but the cathedrall Church, but thus I was advertised and sawe also good prooffe thereof: for the Pope many yeeres after excommunicated all those that withheld any of these Church goods, unlesse they restored them, and the Duke appointed certaine commissioners to go through his countrey, to see the Popes commandement executed. The citie being thus taken and sacked, about noone, the Duke returned to the palace. The King had already dined, and seemed greatly to reioice at the taking of the towne, and commended also much the Dukes courage and valiantnes, knowing that report thereof should be made to him, and that these good words would somewhat further his returne into his realme, which was his speciall desire. After diner the Duke and he met and communed together very pleasantly: and if the King commended his valiantnes behinde his backe, I warrant you he dispraised it not before his face, which the Duke tooke in very good part.

I must now returne to speake somewhat of this miserable people that fled out of the citie, for prooffe of a discourse I made in the beginning of this historie touching the inconveniences I have seene ensue a battell lost by a King, a Duke, or a meaner Prince. These miserable soules fled through the countrey of Ardennes with their wives and children. But a Knight dwelling in those parts, who ever before had taken part with them, slew now a great number of them, and to

* The Duke slue before the Church of Saint Lambert two or three archers with his owne hande.—*La Marche*.

† There were in Liege to the number of two and thirtie Churches and eight Colleges of priests,—*Meyer*. Fower abbies, fower frieries, three nunneries, and without and within the towne above an hundred Churches,—*Guicci*, *Hubertus*.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

recover the conquerors favor, sent word thereof to the Duke reporting the number of those that were slaine and taken, to be much greater than in deede it was: Notwithstanding that it were great, whereby he made his peace with the Duke and saved himselfe. Others fled towards Meziere upon the Maze being within the realme of Fraunce, but upon the way two or three of their Captaines were taken, (one of the which was named Madoulet) who were led to the Duke, and by his commandement put to death. Some of these people died also of hunger, some of cold, and some for lacke of sleepe.

CHAPTER XIII

How the citie of Liege was assaulted, taken, and spoiled, etc.

CHAPTER XIV

How King Lewis returned into Fraunce with the Duke of Burgundies consent, and how the Duke proceeded in destroying the countries of Liege and Franchemont.



POWER or five daies after the taking of the towne, the King began to sollicite such of the Dukes servants as he held for his friends to moove their Master for his departure, but himselfe first brake the matter to the Duke after a sage and wise sort, saying, that if he could stand him in any more stead he should not spare him, otherwise he desired to returne to Paris to cause the treatie to be recorded in the Court of parlement: for the maner in Fraunce is to record all treaties there, otherwise they are of no force, notwithstanding the Kings authoritie may do much therein. He required also the Duke, that the next sommer they might meete againe in Burgundie, and make merie a month together, whereunto the Duke in the end agreed, mumbling somewhat to himselfe. Farther the Duke commanded the treatie to be read againe before the King to

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIV

How King
Lewis re-
turned into
Fraunce with
the Duke of
Burgundies
consent.

know whether ought were passed in it that he misliked, putting him to his choice to allow or disallow thereof at his pleasure. Somewhat also he excused himselfe for bringing him to this siege. Lastly he besought him that one article mought be added to the treatie in favor of the Lords of Lau, and Vrfé, and Poncet of Riviere, to wit, that they mought be restored to all their estates and offices that they enjoyed before the wars began, which request misliked the King, for there was no reason why the Duke should require to have them comprehended in the treatie, both for that they were none of his partakers in the wars above mentioned,* and also because they served the Lord Charles the Kings brother, not the Duke. Notwithstanding the King answered that he would grant his demand upon condition that he would accord the like to the Lords of Nevers and Croy, wherunto the Duke replied nought. This was a very wise answer of the King, for the Duke hated these Lords by him named so extremely, and held so goodly possessions of theirs, that he would never have condescended to restore them: of the other articles the King answered he would alter none, but confirmed the whole treatie as they two had sworne it at Peronne. Thus was it agreed that the King should returne home, and the Duke accompanied him about half a league. But at their leave taking the King said thus unto him, If my brother who is now in Britaine will not accept this partage that I have given him for your sake, what will you that I do? Whereunto the Duke answered sodainly without farther deliberation, If he will not, I refer the order thereof to you two, of the which demand and answer sprang a great matter as heereafter you shall heare. Thus returned the King in great joy, being safe conducted by the Lords of Cordes and Demeriez† great bailife of Haynault, to the frontiers of the Dukes dominions. The Duke abode still in

* This was the treatie of Conflans, at the conclusion whereof these three heere named (as our author himselfe before rehearseth,) were the Dukes enimies and tooke part with the King: wherfore no reason it was that the Duke should seeke to have them comprehended in the treatie as his friends, seeing at the conclusion thereof they were his enimies.

† This Demeriez the French copie nameth des Murz, the old copie De Meriens, La Marche d'Emeries, *Annal. Burgun. d'Aymeries*. The

PHILIP DE COMMINES

the citie of Liege, which was extremely handled I must needs confesse, but sure they had well deserved so to be delt with, because of the great cruelties they had continually used against the Dukes subjects ever since his grandfathers daies. Besides that, they never performed any promise nor kept any treatie they made, and this was the fift yeere that the Duke himselfe had been there yeere by yeere in person, and concluded peace, which ordinarily the next yeere they brake. Farther they had continued excommunicated of long time, for their great crueltie against their Bishop, whereof notwithstanding they made no account, neither would obey the commandements of the Church on that behalfe.

CHAPTER
XIV

How King
Lewis re-
turned into
Fraunce with
the Duke of
Burgundies
consent.

Immediately after the Kings departure, the Duke with small force determined to go into Franchemont, a countrey a little beyond Liege, lying among sharpe rockes and thicke woods. From thence came the best soldiers the Liegeois had, and of this countrey were they that made the desperate salie above mentioned. Before his departure a great number of poore prisoners that hid themselves in houses at the taking of the towne were drowned. Farther it was concluded that this citie heretofore so populous, should be burned at three severall times,* and three or fower thousand footmen of the countrey of Lambourg,† being neighbors to the Liegeois, and almost of the same maners and language, were appointed to fire it, but to save the churches. First the great bridge built over the river of Maze was beaten downe, then a great number were chosen to defend the chanons houses about the cathedrall church, to the end they might have lodging that should say divine service. In like maner also divers were appointed for defence of the other Churches. This done the townes name is Aymeries in Henault upon the river of Sambre,—Guicci. in the description of Henault, yet the same author in his description generall nameth the man d'Emery. *Annal. Burg.* in another place nameth him d'Esmeriez, Meyer Aymericius and Emericius, so that I suppose it best to reade it as I have translated it, but that des Murz is very corrupt I am out of doubt.

* This city was divided into three quarters, as appeereth by Guic. description, for the which cause it was fired at three severall times.

† The old copy hath Lambourg as I have translated it, the new Luxembourg, as have also *Annal. Burgund.*; but not well in mine opinion. For Lambourg is hard by Liege, but Luxembourg farther off.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIV

How King
Lewis re-
turned into
Fraunce with
the Duke of
Burgundies
consent.

Duke departed into the countrey of Franchemont, and immediately after he was out of the towne we saw a great number of houses on this side the river on fire: he marched forward and lodged fower leagues off, yet heard we the noise as easily as if we had beene there present: I wot not whether it were bicause the wind sat that way, or bicause we lodged upon the river. The next day the Duke departed thence, and those that were left behind in the towne continued still the fire as they were commanded, but the Churches were all saved a few excepted, and above three hundred houses to lodge the Church men, which caused the towne so soon to be replenished againe: for much people returned to dwell with these Priests.

Bicause of extreme frost and cold the greatest part of the Dukes armie was forced to go on foote into the countrey of Franchemont, which had never a walled towne in it but all villages. The Duke lodged five or sixe daies in a little valley called Pollence, his armie was devided into two bands the sooner to destroy the countrey. All the houses he commanded to be burned, and all the iron mills broken, which is their onely trade of living. Farther our men hunted the poore people out of great woods and forests where they lay hidden with their goods, and many they slew and tooke prisoners, and there the soldiers got good booties. The cold was more extreme than is almost credible: for I saw a gentleman that with cold lost the use of his foote and never recovered it, and a Page that had two of his fingers rotted from his hand, and in like maner a woman dead for cold and her childe with her, whereof she was newly delivered. Farther by the space of three daies all the wine that was drunke in the Dukes lodging was cut with hatchets: for it was so frozen in the vessels that we were forced to breake them, and cut the wine being a masse of yse into small peeces, which men bare away in hats and baskets as best liked them. I could rehearse divers other strange accidents of the cold too long to write. To conclude at eight daies end hunger drave us thence in haste, and the Duke departed to Namur, and so into Brabant, where he was honorably received.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XV

How the King by subtile meanes perswaded the Lord Charles his brother to take the Duchie of Guienne for Brie and Champaigne, to the Duke of Burgundies discontentment.



THE King after his departure from the Duke returned with great joy into his realme, attempting nothing against the Duke for his evill usage at Peronne and Liege, but seeming to take all in good part. Notwithstanding sharpe warre arose afterward betweene them, but not soone, neither was this the chiefe cause thereof, (though happily it might in part further it :) for if this treatie had been concluded at Paris, it had passed in effect as it did at Peronne. But the Duke by his officers advise sought to advaunce the bounds of his dominions, besides that divers subtile practises were used to set these two Princes againe at variance as you shall heare when occasion serveth. The Lord Charles of Fraunce the Kings onely brother and late Duke of Normandie, being advertised of this treatie made at Peronne, and the partage assigned to him thereby: sent forthwith to the King desiring him to accomplish the treatie and performe his promise. The King sent in like maner to him about that matter, and many messengers ran to and fro betweene them. The Duke of Burgundie sent also his ambassadors to the said Lord Charles, desiring him to accept no other partage then Champaigne and Brie, which by his meanes was granted him, shewing him withall how great good will he bare him, sith notwithstanding he had abandoned him, yet would not he do the like as the sequell well declared, but had also comprehended the Duke of Britain in the treatie as his confederate. Farther he sent

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XV

How the King
by subtile
meanes per-
swaded the
Lord Charles
his brother
to take the
Duchie of
Guienne.

him word that Champaigne and Brie lay very commodiously for them both, because if the King should at any time attempt ought against him, he might within two daies warning have succours out of Burgundie: the two countries bordering one upon another. Lastly he advertised him that his partage was very good, and that he might levie in his countries, aides, customes, and subsidies, neither could the King claime any thing there but homage, resort, and sovereignty. This Lord Charles was a man doing little or nothing of himselfe, but wholly lead and governed by others: notwithstanding that he were above five and twenty yeeres of age. Thus passed the winter which was well spent before the Kings departure from us. Messengers ran continually to and fro about this partage: for the King ment nothing lesse then to give his brother that he had promised, because he would not have him and the Duke of Burgundie so neere neighbours. But he treated with his brother to take Guienne, (which is in maner all Aquitaine :) for Brie and Champaigne. The Lord Charles feared to displease the Duke of Burgundy, and doubted if he yellected to the Kings request, and he should not keepe touch with him, that then he should loose both freend and partage, and so be left bare boord. But the King being the subtilest prince then living, and the cunningest dealer in such treaties, perceiving that he should do no good unlesse he wan those that were in credit with his brother, fell in communication of this matter with Oudet of Rie, Lord of Lescut afterwards Earle of Comminges (who was borne and married in the countrey of Guienne) desiring him to perswade his master to accept this partage being much better than that he demanded, and that they mought be friends and live together like brethren, adding also that this partage should be much more beneficiall both for his brother and servants, (especially for the saide Oudet) than the other, and farther assuring him that without faile he would deliver his brother quiet possession of the said countrey. By this means was the Lord Charles won to accept this partage of Guienne to the Duke of Burgundies great discontentation and his ambassadors there present. And the cause why Cardinall Balue Bishop of Angiers, and the Bishop of

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Verdun were imprisoned,* was for that the said Cardinall writ to the Lord Charles, advising him to accept none other partage than that the Duke of Burgundy had procured him by the treatie of Peronne, which also the King had sworne and promised (laying his hand within the said Cardinals) to deliver him, alledging withall such reasons to perswade him thereunto as he thought necessarie, wherein he did cleane contrarie to the Kings purpose. Thus the Lord Charles was made Duke of Guienne, the yeere 1469, and the possession of the countrey together with the government of Rochell delivered him, and then the King and he sawe one another, and were together a long time.

CHAPTER XV

How the King by subtile meanes perswaded the Lord Charles his brother to take the Duchie of Guienne.

* The Cardinals imprisonment was bicause he perswaded the King to go to Peronne, and advised the Duke of Guienne to beware of poison, and not to take the partage of Guienne,—Meyer ; and for disclosing the Kings secrets by letters to the Duke of Burgundy,—Gaguin. But if the Duke of Guienne had been wise, he would of himselfe without perswasion have refused this partage. For when a mans enemy offereth him that hath an apparance of good, let him ever refuse it : *nam latet anguis in herba*, as the sequele of this matter well declared, for the accepting of this partage, which the King alleaged and that truely to be better than the other the Duke demanded, cost the Duke of Guienne his life, as hereafter shall appeere.

THE THIRD BOOKE

CHAPTER I

How the King tooke occasion to make war anew
upon the Duke of Burgundie, and how he sent
a purseuant of the parlament to Gaunt to
sommen him to appeere at Paris.



THE yeere 1470 the King determined to be
revenged of the Duke of Burgundie, sup-
posing he had now found a time convenient
so to do, for he privily sollicited and
caused others to sollicite the townes situate
upon the river of Somme, namely Amiens,
Saint Quintine, and Abbeville to rebell
against the Duke, and to send for succours
into France, and to receive them into their towns.* For all
great Princes (if they be wise) will seeke ever some colour
for their doings. And to the ende you may perceive what
cunning is used in Fraunce, I wil shew you how this matter
was managed, for the King and the Duke were both abused,
whereof arose whot and sharpe war, which endured thirteene
or fourteene yeeres. The King desired greatly to moove
these townes above named to rebellion, pretending (to the

* The Kings colour was this, he would not seeme to make war upon
the Duke, but onely to have sent men to these towns at their request,
who because of the Dukes cruell exactions had praide in aide of him as
of their soveraigne.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

end he might have the better meanes to practise with them) that the Duke advanced his limits farther than the treatie would beare: whereupon ambassadors ran to and fro, who under colour of their ambassage practised continually as they passed through these townes, to the end above mentioned. In the said townes were no garrisons, but all was quiet both in the realme, in Burgundie, and in Britaine. And the Duke of Guien lived to all mens judgement in great amitie with the King his brother. Notwithstanding when the King first mooved this war, his meaning was not to take one or two of these townes onely, but he sought to stir all the Duke of Burgundies subjects to rebellion, trusting to achieve his enterprise by this meanes. Divers to obtaine his favor entertained these practises, and reported their intelligence to be far greater than it was: for one promised to take this towne, an other that, and yet indeed all was nothing. Wherefore notwithstanding that the King had just cause to be displeased for his evill usage at Peronne, yet if he had thought this enterprise would have fallen none otherwise out than it did, he would not have broken the treatie nor mooved war: for he had made the peace to be proclaimed at Paris three monthes after his returne into his realme, and began this war with some feare, but the great hope he had conceived thereof, pricked him forward: and marke I pray you what cunning was used to further it. The Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce, (a very wise man,) and certaine of the Duke of Guien his servants, with divers others desired rather war than peace betweene these two great Princes, for two respects: The one, they feared least their great offices and pensions should be diminished, if peace continued. For you shall understand that the Constable had under his charge four hundred men of arms or launces paied by his owne hands every muster, without controuler: farther besides the fee and profits of his office, he had a yeerly pension of thirty thousand franks and better, and received also the revenues of many goodly places that he kept.

The other respect was this, they sought to perswade the King, and talked also to like purpose among themselves, that his disposition was such, that his head could never be

CHAPTER

I

How the King tooke occasion to make war anew upon the Duke of Burgundie.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

I

How the
King tooke
occasion to
make war
anew upon
the Duke of
Burgundie.

idle, wherefore unlesse he were busied with great Princes abroad he would be in hand with his servants and officers at home. For these two reasons therefore they sought to intangle him with wars: whereunto the better to perswade him, the Constable promised to take Saint Quintine at all times when him listed, because his lands lay round about it, vaunting further that he had great intelligence in Flanders and Brabant, so far forth that he would make a number of townes to revolt from the Duke. The Duke of Guienne also being there present and all his principall servants, offered very earnestly and promised very faithfully to serve the King in this quarrell, and to leade with them fower or five hundred men of armes that the said Duke held in ordinary pay: but their drift was other than the King supposed, as hereafter you shall here. The King because he would seeme to proceede with due advise and deepe consideration, called a Parliament of the three estates of his realme at Tours, in the moneths of March and Aprill in the yeere 1470, which was the first and last Parliament that ever he assembled. But to this Parliament came onely such as were purposely named, and such as the King knew would not gainesay him in any point. There he caused divers enterprises to be discovered, that the Duke of Burgundy had attempted against the crowne, and made the Earle of Eu openly to complaine of him, saying, that the Duke detained from him contrary to all lawe and equity Saint Valery and certaine other lands, that he the said Earle held of the Duke as parcels of the Seignorie of Abbeville, and the county of Ponthieu, the onely cause whereof was, for that a little ship of war of Eu had taken a Flemmish hoy laden with merchandise, the losse whereof the Earle offered to repair, further adding, that the Duke would constraine him to doe him homage, and give him his faith against all men none excepted, which he would never doe, because it should be prejudiciall to the Kings estate. At this Assembly were divers lawyers as well of the Parliament of Paris as other places, who concluded according to the Kings pleasure, that the Duke should be summoned to appeere in the Parliament at Paris. The King knew well that he would answere

PHILIP DE COMMINES

disdainfully, or do somewhat prejudiciall to the authority of the court, whereby he should have the juster pretence of war against him. Thus the Duke being in Gaunt was sommoned as he went to masse by a pursevant of the Parlament to appeere at Paris: wherewith he was much abashed and discontented, and caused the pursevant foorthwith to be apprehended and committed to warde, where hee remained certeine daies, but in the end was dismissed and sent home. Thus you see what preparation was made to invade the Duke of Burgundy, who being advertised thereof, levied a great band of men paid with home wages (as they termed them) which was a trifle they received to be in a readinesse in their owne houses. Notwithstanding they mustered monethly in the townes where they dwelt, and received their pay. But at three or fower moneths the Duke waxed wearie of the charge and dismissed these men, banishing all feare bicause the King sent often to him, and so departed into Holland. He entertained no soldiers in ordinary pay for the safetie of his countrie, neither held any garrisons in the frontire townes, whereof ensued great inconvenience: for there was daily practising in Amiens, Abbeville, and Saint Quintine to yeeld them againe to the King. The Duke being in Holland was advertised by Iohn late Duke of Bourbon, that shortly war should be made upon him as well in Burgundie as in Picardie, and that the King had great intelligence not onely in his dominions but also in his house: with the which message he was marvelously abashed: for he was utterly unfurnished of men of war, bicause he had discharged the band above mentioned. Wherefore in great haste he passed the sea* and went into Artois, and thence straight to Hedin, where he entred into jelousie both of some of his servants, and also of those practises that were entertained in the townes above mentioned: but his preparation for the wars went but slowly forward. For he beleeved not all that was tolde him. Notwithstanding he commanded two of the chiefest citizens of Amiens whom he suspected for these treaties to repaire unto him, who so cunningly excused

CHAPTER I

How the King tooke occasion to make war anew upon the Duke of Burgundie.

* This sea was one of the streames of the river of Rhene that environ Holland.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

How the King tooke occasion to make war anew, etc.

themselves, that he dismissed them without further inquirie. Immediately after, certaine of his servants fled out of his house, namely the bastard Baldwine* and others, which caused him to feare a greater traine to be behinde. Wherefore incontinent he made proclamation that all men should be in a readines, but bicause winter was begun, and he but newly returned out of Holland few stirred.

CHAPTER II

How the townes of Saint Quintin and Amiens were yeilded to the King: and from what causes the Constable nourished the war betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.



WO^odaies after his servants departure, which was in the moneth of December the year 1470, the Constable entred into Saint Quintine and sware the towne to the King. Then the Duke perceived his affaires to be in bad estate, for he had no force with him, but had sent all his servants abroad to muster men in his dominions: Notwithstanding with those fewe he could levie being fower or five hundred horse he went to Dourlans, minding to keepe Amiens from revolting. There he abode five or six daies: all the which space they in Amiens continually practised. The Kings armie lying not farre off, shewed it selfe before the towne and was once refused: for part of the citizens held for the Duke: wherefore the Duke

* This Baldwine was the Dukes base brother: the cause of his departure was for that he had attempted with others corrupted by the King to poison the Duke: notwithstanding afterward he recovered his favor, and was taken prisoner at the battell of Nancy.—Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

sent thither to make his lodging, and if he had been so strong that he might have adventured to enter in person, the towne had never beene lost, but he was afraide to go thither weakely accompanied: notwithstanding that divers of the towne required him so to do. But when they of the contrarie faction sawe his feare that he durst not enter the towne, they executed their enterprise, and received the Kings forces. They of Abbeville thought to do the like, but the Lord of Cordes entred in thither for the Duke, and prevented their purpose. Dourlans distant from Amiens but five small leagues, wherefore the Duke was forced to depart thence, so soone as he understood of Amiens revolt: from thence therefore he went to Arras in great haste and feare, doubting the execution of divers other such enterprises, the rather for that he saw himselfe environed with the Constables kinsfolkes and friends: farther because the bastard Baudouin was fled, he entred into suspicion of his other brother the great bastard of Burgundie: notwithstanding his forces repaired to him by little and little. The King thought now that all had beene his owne, supposing the advertisements to be true that the Constable and the rest had given him of their intelligences, whereupon if he had not hoped, he would have wished this enterprise unbegun.

It is meete I should here declare what mooved the Constable and the Duke of Guienne considering the great favors, courtesies, and benefits the Duke of Guienne had received at the Duke of Burgundies hands, to kindle the fire betweene these two Princes that lay at rest in their dominions, and which way this warre could turne to their profit. Somewhat I spake hereof before, saying, that they did it to be in the more assurance of their estates and offices. For they feared if the king lived in peace he would keepe some stir among them. Notwithstanding this was not the onely cause that mooved them. But you shall understand that the Duke of Guienne and they had beene earnest suters to conclude a mariage betweene the said Duke of Guienne, and the Duke of Burgundies onely daughter and heire (for sonne he had none) which matter they had often mooved to the Duke, who in words shewed himselfe

CHAPTER II

How the
townes of
Saint Quentin
and Amiens
were yeelded
to the king.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

II

How the
townes of
Saint Quintin
and Amiens
were yeelded
to the king.

not unwilling thereunto, yet notwithstanding would never conclude it, but entertaigned others also in hope thereof. Now marke how these men sought to atchieve their enterprise by constraining the Duke of Burgundie to this mariage. Immediately after these two townes were taken, and the Duke gone to Arras to levy forces with al speed: the Duke of Guienne sent a secret messenger to him, who brought him three lines written with the said Dukes owne hand, foulded up in a small lumpe of waxe, and containing these words: 'Endevor your selfe to appease your subjects, and you shall not faile of friends.' Farther the Duke of Burgundy being at the first in exceeding great feare, sent to the Constable, desiring him to shew himselfe favourable, and not to presse forward this war begun without any defiance made. At the which message the Constable greatly rejoiced, supposing that he now held the Duke in such feare as he desired, which to increase, he sent him a speedy and discomfortable answer, the effect whereof was, that his state stode in marvellous danger, so far forth that he saw no way for him to winde himselfe out of these troubles but one. Namely by giving his daughter in marriage to the D. of Guienne, which if he would do, he should than be succoured with great forces: for both the Duke of Guienne and divers other Lords would declare themselves for him against the King, and he also would restore him Saint Quintine and take his part, otherwise he said he durst do nothing, considering how strong the K. was, having both his army very wel appointed, and also great intelligence in the Dukes dominions. This was the answer he sent, with divers other fearefull messages. But I never knew man in my life come to good ende that sought to put in feare and hold in subjection his master, or any other great Prince with whom he had to do, as in the end the Constables example shall well declare. For notwithstanding that the King were then his master, and that the greatest part of his revenues lay, and all his children were resident in the Duke of Burgundies dominions: yet continued he these practises against both these Princes, with intent to hold them both in feare each by other, which cost him deere in the end, and no marvel. For notwithstanding that every

PHILIP DE COMMINES

man desire to live out of subjection and feare, and that all men naturally hate those that hold them in awe: yet none so extremely as Princes. For I never knew Prince that hated not mortally all those that sought to put him in feare.

After the D. of Burgundy had received the Constables answer, he perceived well no friendship to be in him, and farther that he was the only author of this war. Whereupon he conceived so extreme hatred against him, that after this he could never brooke him, especially because by these fearful messages he sought to constraine him to marie his daughter at his pleasure: a vaine attempt. For before the returne of the Constables answere, the Duke had recovered his spirits, and had a great army with him. You may easily perceive both by the message sent by the Duke of Guienne first, and the Constables answere afterward, that this was a compact matter betweene them, and the rather for that the like message or a more dreadfull came soone after from the Duke of Britaine, who sent also to the Kings service a hundred Britons, all men of armes under the leading of the Lord of Lescut. Wherefore we may boldly say that this war was mooved onely to constraine the Duke of Burgundie to conclude this mariage, and that they did but abuse the King in perswading him to begin war: for they were all in manner lies that they told him of their intelligences in the Dukes dominions. Notwithstanding, in this voyage the Constable did the King great service, and shewed extreme malice against the Duke of Burgundie, knowing that the Duke had conceived mortall hatred against him. The Duke of Guienne also served the King in these wars verie well accompanied, so that the Duke of Burgundy stood upon hard tearmes. But if at the first he would have assured his daughter to the Duke of Guienne, both the said Duke of Guienne, the Constable, and divers other noble men with all their adherents would have revolted to him against the King, and done their endeavour to have pulled him upon his knees. But whatsoever man purposeth in such cases, God disposeth afterward of them at his pleasure.

CHAPTER II

How the townes of Saint Quintin and Amiens were yeilded to the king.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the Duke of Burgundie tooke Piquigny,
and afterward found meanes to make truce
with the King for a yeere to the Con-
stables great grieve.



YOU have heard at large the cause of this war, at the beginning whereof both the Princes were blinded, invading each other and neither of them knowing the cause why, which was a marvellous cunning of the contrivers of this enterprise. For a man might have pronounced the old Proverb of these two Princes: that the one part of the world was not acquainted with the others maners nor actions. All these affaires above rehersed since the beginning of these wars, chanced in very short space, for within lesse then fifteene daies after the taking of Amiens, the Duke put himselfe into the field neere to Arras, (for farther he retired not,) and from thence marched toward the river of Somme, and so straight to Piquigny, but upon the way thither he met with a messenger of the Duke of Britaine on foote, who advertised him from the Duke his Master, that the King had given his said Master to understand of divers secrets, and among others of intelligences he had in many great townes of his dominions: namely Andwerp, Bruges, and Bruxelles, adding also that the King was determined to come and besiege him into what towne soever he should retire, were it even into Gaunt. Al the which advertisements I suppose the Duke of Britaine sent in favour of the Duke of Guienne, hoping thereby to further much the marriage above mentioned. But the Duke of Burgundie tooke this message in evill part, and forthwith dispatched the messenger, willing him to tell his master that he was

PHILIP DE COMMINES

misinformed by some evill servants about him, who put these feares and doubts into his head, to the end he should not aide him as he was bound by their league. And farther that he knew not what townes Gaunt and the other cities were: in the which he said the King would come to besiege him: for they were too great to be besieged. He bad him farther to informe his Master in what sort he found him accompanied, and to advertise him that the world went otherwise with him than he supposed, for he was determined to passe the river of Somme, and to fight with the King, if he would come to stop him upon the way. Last of all, he willed him to desire his Master on his behalfe to joyne with him against the King, and to shew himselfe a friend to the Duke of Burgundie, as he had shewed himselfe to him by the treatie of Peronne. The next day the Duke of Burgundie approched neere to a towne upon the river of Somme called Piquigny, the seat whereof was marvellous strong. There he determined to make a bridge to passe the said river, but fower or five hundred franke archers, and certaine gentlemen, who by chance lodged at that present in the towne, seeing the Duke passe by, salied out to the skirmish upon a long causey, and issued foorth so far from the place, that thereby they gave the Dukes men occasion to pursue them, who folowed them so speedily that they slue a great number of them, before they could retire into the towne, and tooke the suburbes into the which the causey lead. Then fower or five peeces of artillerie were bent against the towne, notwithstanding that it were impregnable on that side, for that the river ran between the towne and the Dukes batterie. But these franke archers fearing (bicause they saw the bridge in hand) to be besieged also on the other side, abandoned the place and fled. The castle held two or three daies and then yeelded by composition, and the soldiers departed in their doblets and their hose. The good successe of this small exploit so much encouraged the Duke that he led his armie before Amiens, where he built two or three lodgings, saying that he would keepe the field, to see if the King durst come to fight with him, and in the end approached with his artillery so neere the towne, that it shot at randon over and into it:

CHAPTER III

How the Duke of Burgundie tooke Piquigny, and afterward found meanes to make truce with the King.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundie tooke
Piquigny, and
afterward
found meanes
to make truce
with the King.

in the which estate he lay there at the least sixe weekes. Within the towne was the Constable and all the great officers of the realme: namely the Lord great Master, Admirall, Marshall, Seneshals, and others accompanied with foureteene hundred men of armes, and foure thousand franke archers. The King in the meane time lying at Beauvais made a great muster, being accompanied with the Duke of Guinne his brother, and Nicholas Duke of Calabria, sonne and heire to Iohn Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, and onely heire of the house of Anjou. Farther all the nobles of the realme subject to the Arriereban were come thither to him, who travelled earnestly (as I have beene since informed) to understand the bottom of this enterprise, for they saw the troubles so farre from pacification that the King was now more busied with wars than ever. They within Amiens determined to assaile the Duke of Burgundie and his armie, if the King would send his forces being at Beauvais to joine with them. But the King being advertised of this enterprise, sent foorthwith to countermaund it: for notwithstanding that in all apparence the successe thereof was like to be good: yet was it not altogether voide of danger, especially for those that should have salied: for considering that they must all have issued foorth on foote, and at two gates one of the which was hard by the Dukes campe: if happily they had beene repulsed, they should have put both the towne and themselves in great hazard. In the meane time the Duke sent one of his Pages to the King called Simon of Quingy, afterward Bailife of Troy with a letter of sixe lines written with his owne hand, wherein he humbled himselfe to him, saying that he was verie sorie he had thus invaded him for other mens pleasures, which he supposed he would not have done, if he had beene well informed of their practises. The Kings army sent into Burgundy* had defeated all the force of the countrie in battell, and taken many prisoners. The number

* Of this army he spake somewhat in the Duke of Bourbons advertisement sent to the Duke of Burgundy mentioned in the first chapter of this booke, it was led by the Earle Daulphin d'Auvergne sonne to the Earle of Montpensier. Of this discomfiture reade *Annal. Burgund.*, p. 945.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

of the slaine was not great, but the discomfiture was great, in such sort that the Kings forces had already taken some places, and besieged other some, wherewith the Duke was somewhat abashed, notwithstanding he made the contrarie to be bruted in his campe, saying that his armie had obtayned the victorie.

When the King had read the Dukes letter above mentioned, he rejoiceth much thereat, both because of the reason above alleaged,* and also for that he soone waxed wearie of all long enterprises. Wherefore he gave him a speedy answer, and directed a commission to certain in Amiens authorising them thereby to treat of truce. Whereupon divers truces were concluded one after another for fower and five daies: and in the ende one so far as I remember for a yeere, to the Constables great discontentation: for undoubtedly whatsoever men have thought or can thinke to the contrarie, he was then mortall enemy to the Duke, and many haut words passed betweene them in such sort, that after this they never were friends as the sequele well declared. True it is that they sent afterward one to another, but all for practise sake, and each to make his profit by the other. For all that the Duke did was onely to recover Saint Quintine, which the Constable ever when he stood in feare of the king promised to restore, and some of these treatise betweene them I have knowen so far advanced, that the Dukes men upon the Constables promise to be received, have come within two or three leagues of the towne. But when the matter should be executed, he ever continued in his accustomed dissimulation, and sent a countermaund, which his double dealing cost him deere in the end. He thought because of the seate of the towne, the great number of men he had under his charge paid out of the Kings cofers, and the variance betweene these two Princes (which himselfe nourished) to hold them both in feare, but his enterprise was to to dangerous: for they were both to great, to strong, and to subtile.

When these armies were dismissed, the King returned

* The reason was bicause he perceived the intelligences of the Constable and the rest to be untrue.

CHAPTER III

How the Duke of Burgundie tooke Piquigny, and afterward found meanes to make truce with the King.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

III

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundie tooke
Piquigny, and
afterward
found meanes
to make truce
with the King.

into the countrie of Touraine, the Duke of Guienne into his owne countrie, and the Duke of Burgundy into his: in the which estate these affaires remained awhile. The said Duke of Burgundy assembled all the estates of his dominions,* and declared unto them what damage he had received by not having soldiers in ordinarie pay as the King had: alleaging that if there had beene but five hundred men in a readines to defend the frontiers, the King would never have mooved this war, but they should have lived in peace. He shewed further what great dangers they were like to fall into if this inconvenience were not speedily redressed: and pressed them earnestly for the paiment of eight hundred light horse. In the end they agreed to give him a subsidie of sixscore thousand crowns† over and above all other duties they yeerly paid him, in the which subsidie Burgundie was not comprehended. But his said subjects for divers respects feared to put themselves into such subjection and slaverie, as they saw the realme of Fraunce in by reason of these men of armes: which their feare was not without cause: for after the Duke had obtained five or sixe hundred men of armes in ordinarie, he sought continually to encrease the number, and began to attempt more boldly against his neighbours in such sort, that in the end these 120000 crownes grew to 500000 and the number of his men of armes augmented so excessively, that his subjects were greatly charged for their maintenance. To say my fansie of these ordinary men of armes, I thinke under a wise Prince they be well imploied, but if he be otherwise, or happily at his death leave his children in their minoritie, the service wherein their governors employ them is not alwaies profitable neither for the King, nor for his subjects. The hatred betweene the King and the Duke diminished not but still endured. Further the Duke of Guienne being returned into his countrie, sent often to the Duke of Burgundy, entreteining still his sute for his daughters marriage, who fed him continually with faire words, as he did every

* This assembly was held the 16 of Iune.—Meyer.

† But this subsidy of 120000 crownes was granted but for three yeeres.—Meyer, pag. 348 and 367.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

other man that required hir. And I thinke verily that he neither was desirous of a sonne,* neither would have married his daughter during his life : but have kept hir to intertaine men, thereby to obtaine their friendship and aide. For he had so many great enterprises in his head, that all his life time could not suffice to atchieve them, and those, adventures almost impossible to be compassed : for halfe Europe would not have contented him. He had courage ynough to attempt any thing, his bodie was able to endure as much labour and travell as was needfull, he was furnished both of men and mony, but he lacked finenes and cunning sufficient for the managing of his affaires. And what Prince soever desireth to be great (notwithstanding that he be accomplished with all other good parts :) yet if he lacke an excellent wit all is to no purpose, which undoubtedly proceedeth of the meere grace of God. To be short, if part of the Dukes vertues and part of the King our masters had been tempered together, they would have made a perfect Prince : for undoubtedly in wit the King far excelled him, as well appeered in the end.

* The Duke desired no sonne, bicause then his daughters marriage could not have stood him in such stead as now it did.

CHAPTER III

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundie tooke
Piquigny, and
afterward
found meanes
to make truce
with the King.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

Of the wars among the Princes of England
during these troubles between King Lewis
and Charles Duke of Burgundy.

*Note that from
this place til
the 7 Chapter,
all these Eng-
lish affaires,
fall into the
yeeres 1469
and 1470.*



MUST now discourse of Edward King of England, because these three great Princes, namely our King, the King of England, and the Duke of Burgundy, lived all in one age: in the which discourse, I will not observe the Historiographers usuall order in writing, who set downe the certaine yeeres and daies when each thing hapned, neither will I vouch examples out of the ancient histories, for you know them better than my selfe, and in so doing I should but seeme to reason of Divinitie before a Doctor thereof. But I will rudely advertise you of all that I have seene, known or heard, of these Princes of whom I write. You live in the selvesame age that all these things hapned, wherefore me thinke it needlesse so exactly to note the howers and seasons.

I have before rehearsed what occasion mooved the Duke of Burgundy to mary King Edwards sister, and said it was principally to fortifie himselfe against the King, otherwise he would never have done it, for the great affection he bare to the house of Lancaster, whereof he was descended by his mother: for she was daughter to the King of Portugall, and hir mother daughter to the Duke of Lancaster,* so that as fervently as he loved the house of Lancaster, as extremely hated he the house of Yorke. But you shall understand that at the time of this mariage, the house of Lancaster was utterly destroyed, and the house of Yorke no more spoken of.

* Philippa daughter to John Duke of Lancaster was married to John King of Portugal, and had issue by him Isabell mother to Duke Charles.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

For King Edward being both King and Duke of Yorke CHAPTER
IV
Of the wars among the Princes of England during these troubles.
raigned peaceably. During the civill wars betweene these two houses, were fought in England seaven or eight cruell battels, and in them slaine three or fower score Princes and Lords of the blood royall, as before is rehearsed in this history. The rest that escaped being all yoong Lords, whose fathers died in these battels above mentioned, lived as banished men in the Duke of Burgundies court, who received them as his kinsmen of the house of Lancaster, before his mariage with King Edwards sister. I have seene them in so great misery before they came to the Dukes knowledge, that those that beg from dore to dore were not in poorer estate then they: for I once saw a Duke of Excester run on foote bare legged after the Duke of Burgundies traine, begging his bread for Gods sake, but he uttered not his name. He was the neerest of the house of Lancaster, and had married King Edwards sister,* but when he was knowne, the Duke gave him a small pension to maintaine his estate. They of the house of Somerset and divers others, were there in like maner, who died all afterwards in the wars. Their fathers and kinsmen had spoiled and destroyed the realme of Fraunce, and possessed the greatest part thereof many yeeres, and afterwards slew one another, and those that remained alive in England and their children have died as you have seene. Yet men say, that God punisheth not now as he did in the children of Israels time, but suffereth evill men and evill Princes to live unpunished.

True it is that he threatneth not now by expresse messengers as he did than: for he hath left examples ynough to instruct us. Notwithstanding you may perceive by these discourses, joyning thereto the great knowledge you have besides, that of evill Princes and such as have authoritie in this world, and abuse it to cruelty or tyranny, few or none escape unpunished though it happen not by and by after the fault committed, neither so soone happily as

* This was Henry Holland Duke of Exceter, whose wife was Anne sister to King Edward the fourth, and his grandmother was Elizabeth daughter to Iohn Duke of Lancaster by his first wife, but he died without issue.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

Of the wars
among the
Princes of
England
during these
troubles.

those that are afflicted desire. But to returne to King Edward, the chiefe man in England that maintained the house of Yorke was the Earle of Warwicke. And on the other side the greatest champion of the house of Lancaster was the Duke of Sommerset. The said Earle of Warwicke might justly be called King Edwards father, as well for the training of him up, as also for the great services he did him, for the which the King had also highly advaunced him, for besides his owne inheritance which was great, he held goodly lands of the Kings gift, as well crowne lands, as lands forfeited by attaindor. Farther he was deputie of Calais, and had divers other great offices, so that I have heard his yeerely renewes valued at fowerscore thousand crownes, besides his owne inheritance. But in the ende he fell at variance with the King his master, about a yeere (as I gesse) before the Duke of Burgundies comming before Amiens: which breach the said Duke furthered to the uttermost of his power. For the Earles great authoritie in England much discontented him, besides that they two were not friends, for the Earle had continuall intelligence with the King our master. To be short, about this present or not long before, the Earle of Warwickes force was so great, that he seased the King his master into his hands, and put to death divers personages that he highly favoured, namely the Lord Scales the Queenes father,* and two of his sonnes, (the third being also in great danger) and with them divers other knights. He entertained the King his master for a season verie honourably, and placed new servants about him, supposing that through simplicitie he would soone forget the olde. The Duke of Burgundie being not a little troubled with this adventure, practised secretly how King Edward might escape, and they two commune together, which enterprise had so good successe, that the King escaped in deede, and levied men, and defeated certaine of the Earles bands. He was a fortunate Prince in the field: for he wan at the least nine great battles, fighting himselfe on foote in every one of them. The Earle of Warwicke unable to

* Our chronicles name the Queenes father Earle of Rivers, and so doth afterward also our Author, lib. 5. cap. 15.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

make resistance, advertised his friends what they should do, and embarked at leisure, being accompanied with the Duke of Clarence, who had married his daughter, and tooke part with him, notwithstanding that he were King Edwards brother. They transported with them both wives and children, and a great band of men, and sailed straight towards Calais: within the which was the Earles lieutenant named the Lord of Vaucler,* and divers of the said Earles household servants, who in stead of receiving their Master presented him the canon. Further you shall understand, that as they lay at anchor before the towne, the Dutchesse of Clarence daughter to the Earle of Warwicke was delivered of a sonne, and great intreatie was made, before Vaucler and the rest of the towne would suffer two flaggons of wine to be brought forth to hir, which was great extremitie of the servant towards the master. For it is to be supposed that the Earle thought himselfe well assured of this place, which is the verie key of England: and the goodliest captainship in mine opinion in the world, at the least in Christendome: which I dare boldly avow, because I was there divers times during these wars, and heard also the major of the staple report, that he would willingly farme yeerely the deputiship of Calais of the King of England for fifteene thousand crownes. For the deputie receiveth the profits of all that they have on this side the sea, and of all safe conducts, and placeth also the greatest part of the garrison at his pleasure.

The King of England favored highly the Lord of Vaucler for this refusall made to his Captaine, and granted him by his letters patents the deputiship of Calais for himselfe, which the Earle his master before held: for he was a wise and an ancient knight, and one of the order of the garter. The D. of Burgundie also who then lay at Saint Omer, conceived a marvellous good opinion of him, so far forth that he sent me to him, granting him a yeerely pension of a thousand crownes, and desiring him to continue a true and faithfull servant to the King his Master as he had begunne: which at my comming thither, I found him fully determined to doe, so that he sware in Staple Inne in Calais, (laying his

CHAPTER IV

Of the wars
among the
Princes of
England
during these
troubles.

* This Vaucler was a Gascoine borne.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

Of the wars
among the
Princes of
England
during these
troubles.

hand within mine) to be faithfull and true to King Edward, and to serve him against all men. The like oth all the towne and all the garrison sware also. Farther I was by the space of two months almost continually resident at Calais, at the least posting daiely betweene Calais and Bullen to entertaine the said Vaucer: for you shall understand that during these English troubles, the Duke of Burgundie came to Bullen where he prepared a great army by sea against the Earle of Warwicke, who at his departure from Calais, tooke many ships of the Dukes subjects, which advanced forward the war betweene the King of Fraunce and us. For the Earles men sould the bootie in Normandie: whereupon the Duke of Burgundie arrested all the French Marchants that came to the Mart at Andwerp. Now because it is meete to understand as well the cunning and subtill, as the just and upright dealings of the world, (not to practise them, but to know how to avoide them,) I will rehearse unto you a sleight or subtiltie (terme it as you list) that was cunningly conveighed. Farther I would that men should understand the practises as wel of our neighbours as of our selves, to the end it may appeer that in all places are both good and bad. When the Earle of Warwicke came before Calais, thinking to enter into it as his onely refuge: the Lord of Vaucer being a very wise gentleman, sent him word that if he entred the towne he should cast away himselfe: considering that all England, the Duke of Burgundie, the people of the towne, and a great part of the garrison: namely the Lord of Duras Marshall there for the King of England, and divers others that had men in the towne were his enimies: wherefore his best way should be to retire into Fraunce, and as touching the towne of Calais he willed him not to trouble himselfe: for he would yeeld him good account thereof when time and occasion should serve. He did his Captaine good service by giving him this advise, but shewed himselfe thereby a verie Iudas to the King his Master. For undoubtedly a more traiterous part was never plaied, considering both that the King of England had made him deputy of the towne of Calais, and the Duke of Burgundy given him so large a pension.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER V

How by King Lewis his aide, the Earle of Warwicke chased King Edward out of England, to the Duke of Burgundies great grieve, who received him into his countries.



THE Earle of Warwicke followed Vauciers advise, and landed in Normandie, where the King honorably received him, and furnished him largely of mony for his mens expences, and appointed also the bastard of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce being well accompanied, to defend the Englishmen and their ships against the Duke of Burgundies navie, which was so mighty and strong that no man durst stir in these narrow seas for feare of it, making war upon the Kings subjects both by sea and land, and threatening them every where. All this happened the sommer before the King surprised Saint Quintine and Amiens, which was (as before you have heard) in the yeere 1470. The Duke of Burgundies navie above mentioned was stronger than the Kings and the Earles joined together. For he had taken at Sluse many great ships of Spaine, Portugall and Genua, and divers hulks of Almaine. King Edward was a man of no great forecast, but verie valiant, and the beautifullest Prince that lived in his time. He tooke no care for the Earle of Warwickes landing as the Duke of Burgundie did, who perceiving great tumults already arising in England in the Earles favour, advertised the King often thereof. But he made small account of any danger, nether seemed to feare his enemy: which sure was great folly considering the great preparation he saw made against him. For the King armed all the ships to the sea that he could get, and manned them well, and provided furniture also for the English men.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

V

How by King
Lewis his aide,
the Earle of
Warwicke
chased King
Edward out
of England.

Besides this, he made a marriage betwene the Prince of Wales and the Earle of Warwicks second daughter. The said Prince was onely sonne and heire to King Henry of England, who lived yet prisoner in the Tower of London. This was a strange mariage when the Earle had deposed and imprisoned the Princes father, to cause him to mary his daughter, and to entertaine also the Duke of Clarence, brother to the King of the other faction, who had just cause to feare his owne estate, if the house of Lancaster recovered the crowne. Thus we see that such enterprises are not atchieved without dissimulation. At the selfe same time that this army above mentioned lay in a readines to saile into England, I was at Calais to entertaine the Lord of Vaucler, whose double dealing till that verie instant I never perceived, notwithstanding that it had now continued the space of three months. But at that present, I desired him (because of the newes we heard) to put all the Earle of Warwicks houshold servants being to the number of twenty or thirty out of the towne, alledging that I was sure the Kings army and the Earles were ready to depart out of Normandy where they lay, and if the Earle should happen sodainly to land in England, some such tumult might arise in the towne of Calais by meanes of his servants, that he should not be master thereof. Wherefore I pressed him earnestly in al haste to put them out of the towne, which he alwaies heretofore promised me to doe, but now he drew me aside saying, that he would be master of the towne wel inough, and required me to do this message to the Duke of Burgundy, that if he would be a friend to the Realme of England he should endeavour himselfe to make peace and not war: which words he spake because of the navie the Duke had on the sea against the Earle of Warwicke. He told me farther, that peace might easily be made, because that day a gentlewoman passed through Calice to go into Fraunce to the Dutches of Clarence with certaine overtures of peace from King Edward. And he said true indeed, but as he abused others, even so was himselfe deceived by this gentlewoman: for she went about a great enterprise, which also she atchieved to the prejudice of the Earle of Warwicke,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

and his whole faction. Of this fine practise, and all other that have beene managed on this side the sea, I write the more at large because I am well assured that no man is able to make truer report of them then my selfe, at the least of those that have hapned within these twenty yeeres.

The secret delivered to this woman, was to counsell the Duke of Clarence not to cause the destruction of his owne house, by setting up againe the house of Lancaster, but to remember their ancient hatred and division, adding that he might well assure himselfe that the Earle of Warwicke having married his daughter to the Prince of Wales, and alreadie done homage to him, would by all meanes possible seeke to make him King. This gentlewoman so wisely executed the charge committed unto hir, that she wan the Duke of Clarence, who promised to revolt to the King his brother immediately after his returne into England. Shee was a woman well advised and of few words, and because of her sexe, had leave granted her to passe to her Meistres easilier then a man should, and as craftie a foxe as this Vauler was, this woman went beyond him, and was the onely contriver of the enterprise, whereby the Earle of Warwicke and his whole faction were utterly destroied: wherefore it is no shame to be suspicious, and to have an eie upon those that passe to and fro, but great shame it is to be deceived, and undone through our owne folly. Notwithstanding suspicions ought to be grounded upon some good presumption, for to be too suspicious is naught.

You have heard already how the Earle of Warwickes army, and the Kings ships appointed to wafte him over were in a readines to take sea, and how the Duke of Burgundies navie being at Hancy lay prepared to fight with them. But it pleased God so to dispose of this voyage, that the selfe same night so great a tempest arose that the Dukes navie was forced to sever: part wherof ran upon the coast of Scotland, and part into Holland: and not long after, the Earle having a good gale of winde, passed into England without all danger. The Duke of Burgundie had advertised King Edward in what port the Earle would land, and had sent men purposely to him to sollicite him to looke to him-

CHAPTER V

How by King
Lewis his aide,
the Earle of
Warwicke
chased King
Edward out
of England.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER V

How by King
Lewis his aide,
the Earle of
Warwicke
chased King
Edward out
of England.

selfe: but he little regarding the danger, passed forth the time in hunting, having none so neere him as the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Marquesse of Montagu, the Earle of Warwicks bretheren, who had promised and solemnly sworne to serve him against their brother and all others, whereunto he gave credit. Immediately after the Earles landing, great forces joyned with him: wherewith the King being much abashed, began then, (but all too late) to looke about him, and sent word to the Duke of Burgundie, desiring him that his navie might still keepe the Sea to stop the Earle from retiring againe into France (for upon the land he would match him well ynough) which message pleased no man that heard it: for it had beene much better to have kept him from landing, then to be constrained to hazard his estate in battell when he was landed. Five or sixe daies after the Earles arrivall his power was so great, that he encamped within three leagues of King Edward. Notwithstanding the Kings force was greater then his, if all his men had beene faithfull and true, and lay also in campe to fight with him. Further you shall understand that the King lodged (as himselfe told me) in a strong village, at the least a strong house into the which no man could enter but by a draw bridge, which was a happy chance for him: the rest of his armie lay in other villages round about. But as he sat at dinner, suddenly one came running in, and brought newes that the Marques of Montague the Earles brother and certaine other were mounted on horsebacke, and had caused all their men to crie, God save King Henrie. Which message the King at the first beleaved not, but in all haste sent other messengers forth, and armed himselfe, and set men also at the barriers of his lodging to defend it. He was accompanied with the Lord Hastings Lord Chamberlain of England, a wise Knight and of the greatest authoritie about him, who was married to the Earle of Warwicks sister, yet notwithstanding was true and faithfull to his Master, and had three thousand horse under his charge in the Kings armie as himselfe told me. With the King was also the Lord Scales the Queene of Englands brother, and divers other valiant Knights and Esquiers, who all perceived that

PHILIP DE COMMINES

this busines went not well : for the messengers brought word that the report was true, and that the enemies assembled to assault the King.

But God so provided for the King that he lodged hard by the sea side, neere to a place where a little ship laden with victuals that followed his armie, and two hulks of Holland fraughted with merchandise lay at anchor : he had no other shift but to run to save himselfe in one of them.* The Lord Chamberlaine staid a while behinde him, and talked with the lieutenant of his band and divers other particular men in the Kings armie, willing them to go to the enemies, but to beare true and faithfull harts to the King and him : which talke ended : he went aboard to the rest being ready to depart. Now you shall understand that the custome in England is, after the victory obtained, neither to kill nor raunsome any man, especially of the vulgar sort : knowing all men then to be ready to obey them, bicause of their good successe. Wherefore these soldiers after the Kings departure received no harme. Notwithstanding K. Edward himself told me, that in all battels that he wan, so soon as he had obtained victory he used to mount on horsebacke, and cry to 'Save the people and kill the nobles': for of them few or none escaped. Thus fled King Edward the yeere 1470, with two hulks and a little bote of his owne countrie, accompanied with seven or eight hundred persons, having none other apparell than that they ware in the wars, utterly unfurnished of mony, and hardly knowing whether they went. Strange it was to see this poore King (for so might he now well be called) to flie after this sort pursued by his owne servants, and the rather, for that he had by the space of twelve or thirteene yeeres lived in greater pleasures and delicacies than any Prince in his time: for he had wholly given himselfe to dames, hunting, hawking, and banketting, in such sort that he used when he went a hunting in the sommer season, to cause many pavilions to be pitched to solace himselfe there with the Ladies. And to say the truth his personage served aswel to make court as any mans that ever I knew : for he was yong, and as goodly a gentle-

CHAPTER V

How by King
Lewis hisaide,
the Earle of
Warwicke
chased King
Edward out
of England.

* The King embarked at Lyn.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

V

How by King
Lewis hisaide,
the Earle of
Warwicke
chased King
Edward out
of England.

man as lived in our age, I meane in this time of his adversitie: for afterward he grew marvellous grosse. But behold now how he fel into the trobles and misfortunes of the world. He sailed straight towards Holland, and at that time the Easterlings were enemies both to the English men and the French, and had many ships of war upon the sea, wherefore they were much feared of the English men, and not without cause: for they were very good soldiers, and had done them great harme that yeere, and taken many prises. These Easterlings descried a far off the ships wherin the King fled, and seven or eight of them began to make saile after him, but in vaine: for he was far before them, and fell upon the coast of Holland or somewhat lower: for he arrived in Freezeland by a little towne called Alquemare,* as neere the which as was possible his mariners cast anchor: for because it was ebbing water they could not enter the haven. The Easterlings came in like manner and anchored hard by them, minding to boord them the next tide. Thus we see that one mischiefe never commeth without company.

King Edwards good successe was now cleane altered, and his thoughts quite changed: for not past fifteene daies before this misfortune, he would little have beleevved him that had told him that the Earle of Warwicke should chase him out of England, and subdue the whole Realme in eleven daies: for in that smal space he brought it to due obedience. Further, he mocked the Duke of Burgundie for spending his treasure in defending the sea: and wished that the Earle were already landed in England. But what excuse could he make now for himselfe receiving so great a blow through his owne fault, save this, that such a mishap was not to be doubted: of which excuse a Prince growen to mans estate ought to be ashamed, for it will not serve. Wherefore let King Edwards example teach all Princes that thinke it shame to feare their enimies, to be wise in time: for notwithstanding that the greatest part of their servants through flatterie uphold their sayings, and that themselves also by such words suppose to purchase an opinion of great courage: yet sure (whatsoever is said to their face) wise men account such language but

* Alquemare Meyer nameth Tessela.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

meere folly: for it is great honor to feare that which is to be feared, and to provide for it accordingly. Further, a wise man in a Princes companie is a great treasure and jewell, if he may be beleaved and have leave to speake the truth.

By chance the Lord of Gruteuse the Duke of Burgundies lieutenant in Holland was at that present in the place where King Edward arrived, who being advertised by certaine that the King sent to land, both of his arrivall, and of the danger he was in of the Easterlings, gave commandement forthwith to the said Easterlings not to touch him: and went also himselfe into the Kings ship to welcome him. And thus he landed* being accompanied with his brother the Duke of Glocester (who afterward named himselfe King Richard) and a traine of fifteene hundred persons. The King had not one peny about him, but gave the Master of the ship for his passage a goodly gowne furred with martins, promising one day to do him a good turne: and as touching his traine never so poore a company was seene. But the Lord of Gruteuse dealt very honourably with them: for he gave much apparell among them, and defraied the King to La Haye in Holland whither himselfe also waited upon him. Afterward he advertised the Duke of Burgundie of this adventure, who was marvellously abashed at the newes, and had much rather have heard of the Kings death: for he feared the Earle of Warwicke, who was his mortall enemye, and bare now the whole sway in England. The said Earle soone after he was landed, found infinite numbers to take his part. For the army that King Edward left behinde him, what for love, what for f are yellected to him, in such sort that every day his forces increased. And in this estate went he to London, where a great number of Knights and Esquiers (who afterward did King Edward good service) tooke sanctuarie, as also did the Queene his wife, who was there delivered of a sonne in very poore estate.

* King Edward landed in Hollond the 9 of October.—Meyer.

CHAPTER V

How by King
Lewishisaide,
the Earle of
Warwicke
chased King
Edward out
of England.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle of Warwicke tooke out of prison
King Henry of England.



THE Earle immediately after his arrival at London, went forthwith to the tower and tooke King Henry out of prison, whom himselfe many yeers before had lead thither crying before him, Traitor, Traitor: but now he called him his soveraigne Lord, and conveyed him to his palace at Westminster, where he set him under the cloth of estate in the Duke of Clarences presence, who litle liked that sight. Farther he sent forthwith three or foure hundred men to Calais to spoile and forray the countrey of Boulonois, whom the Lord of Vaucles (so often above mentioned) friendly received, and made then open declaration of the good will he had alwaies borne the Earle his Master. The same day that the Duke received newes of the Kings arrivall in Holland: I was come from Calais to Boulen (where the Duke then lay,) understanding nothing of this adventure, nor of the Kings flight. The Duke was first advertised that he was dead, whereof he forced not greatly, for he loved the house of Lancaster much better then the house of Yorke. Besides that he had with him the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset and divers others of King Henries faction, by whose meanes he thought himselfe assured of peace with the house of Lancaster. But he feared the Earle of Warwicke, neither knew he how to entertaine him that was come to him,* I meane King Edward who was his brother in law, and they both of one order: for the King ware the golden Fleese, and the Duke the Garter.

The Duke forthwith sent me backe againe to Calais,

* He meaneth whether he should aide the King or no.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER

VI

How the
Earle of
Warwicke
tooke out of
prison King
Henry of
England.

accompanied with a gentleman or two of this newe King Henries faction, and gave me instructions how to deale with this new world, pressing me earnestly to go, bicause it stood him upon to be well served in this busines. I went as far as Tournehan a castell neere to Guisnes, and further durst not passe, bycause I found the people flying for feare of the English men, who were abroad and spoiled all the countrey. But I sent forthwith to the Lord of Vaucler desiring a safe conduct : for before I was accustomed to go without any, and was alwaies honorably received : for the English men are very courteous and honorable in their entertainment. Al this seemed strange to me : for I never had seen such sudden alterations in the world. I advertised the Duke the same night of the danger I should be in if I passed further, making no mention of the safe conduct I had sent for, bicause I doubted what answer I should receive thereof. The Duke sent me a ring from his finger bidding me go forward, and if I were taken prisoner he would redeeme me : for he cared not greatly to endanger one of his servants at his neede. But I had provided well for my selfe : for I received a safe conduct with very courteous letters from the Lord of Vaucler. Wherein he sent me word that I might go and come after my woonted maner. Whereupon I went to Guisnes, and founde the captaine at the castell gate, who offered me a cup of wine, without that he led me into the castell as he was accustomed, but he feasted and entertained honorably these gentlemen of King Henries faction that accompanied me. From thence I went to Calais, where no man came forth to receive me after their woonted sort, but al men ware the Earle of Warwicks liverie. Further, upon the gate of my lodging they made above an hundred white crosses and rimes, signifying that the King of Fraunce and the Earle of Warwick were all one : all the which seemed strange to me. Soone after my comming to Calais, I sent to Graveling, being but five leagues thence, commanding all English merchants and merchandises to be staid, bicause the Englishmen had so spoiled the countrey. The Lord of Vaucler sent for me to diner, being well accompanied, and wearing on his cap a white ragged staffe of gold enamiled,

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

How the
Earle of
Warwicke
tooke out of
prison King
Henry of
England.

being the Earles cognisance, which all the rest that were with him ware likewise, and he that could not have it of gold, had it of cloth.* It was told me there at diner, that within lesse than a quarter of an hower after these newes came out of England, every man ware the saide cognisance : so speedie and sudden was the change. This was the first time that I began to consider how unstable and uncertaine all worldly things are. The said Vaucler gave me very courteous language, and made certaine excuses in the Earle his captaines behalfe, rehearsing also what great benefits he had received at his hands. But as touching the rest that were with him, I never saw men so far out of frame : for those that I tooke to have bin the Kings trustiest servants, were they that most threatned him : some I thinke for feare, but others in good earnest. Those household servants of the Earles, whom I had required the Lord of Vaucler heertofore to put out of the towne, were now in great credit. Notwithstanding they never understood that I had mooved the said Vaucler to any such purpose. In all communication that passed betweene them and me, I ever told them that King Edward was dead, whereof I said I was well assured, notwithstanding that I knew the contrary, adding further, that though it were not so, yet was the league betweene the Duke of Burgundie and the King and realme of England such, that this accident could not infringe it : for we would account him King whom they did. I said moreover, that bicause of the alterations that had hapned in times past, these words, ‘With the King and the Realme,’ were inserted into the league, for performance also whereof fower of the best townes in England were in pledge to the Duke. The merchants required in any wise to have me staid, bicause their goods were taken at Graveling by my commandement as they said. In the end peace was thus concluded betweene them and me, that they should pay for al the cattel they had taken, or restore it againe : for by agreement between

* Our author reporteth this ragged staffe to be blacke, but bicause the Earles of Warwicke never gave it blacke but the Earles of Kent, I have translated it white, no whit doubting but that either the printer hath faulted here, or our authors memory failed him.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

the house of Burgundy and them, they might go into certain pastures thereabout, and take cattell for the provision of the towne, at a price which they now paide, and prisoners they had taken none. Thus it was agreed that the league should remaine firme and unviolable betweene us and the King and realme of England, save that for Edward we named Henrie.

This agreement pleased well the Duke of Burgundie, for the Earle of Warwicke was sending fower thousand English men to Calais to make sharpe war upon his dominions, neither could the Duke pacifie him by any meanes. Notwithstanding the rich merchants of London, divers of the which were then at Calais, in the end perswaded him to peace, bicause their staple of wools is there, which is a far goodlier thing than a man would beleewe: for it is almost incredible of how great value the wooll is that is transported thither twice a yeere, and lieth there till merchants come to buy it. The chiefe vent whereof is into Flaunders and Holland, which was the principall cause that mooved these merchants to labour so earnestly for peace, and for stay of the soldiers the Earle was sending over: which was a happy chance for the Duke of Burgundie, for it was even at the very same instant that the King tooke Amiens and Saint Quintine: and if both the realmes had made war upon him at once, undoubtedly he had been undone. He travelled to appease the Earle of Warwicke by all meanes possible, alledging that he would attempt nothing against King Henry, seeing he was himselfe of the house of Lancaster, and using such words as might best serve for his purpose.

Now to returne to King Edward, he came to Saint Paule to the Duke of Burgundie, and pressed him earnestly for aide to return home, assuring him that he had great intelligence in England, and desiring him for Gods love not to abandon him, considering he had married his sister, and that they were brethren of one order. The Dukes of Somerset and Excester labored him to the contrarie, to wit, to take part with King Henry. The Duke could not tell whom to please, and either partie he feared to displease. But in the end bicause sharpe war was already begun upon him, even at

CHAPTER VI

How the Earle of Warwicke tooke out of prison King Henry of England.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

How the
Earle of
Warwicke
tooke out of
prison King
Henry of
England.

his very nose,* he inclined to the Duke of Somerset and the others above named, accepting their promises against the Earle of Warwick their ancient enemy. Wherwith King Edward there present was woonderfully disquieted. But the Dukes servants alleged the best reasons they could in excuse therof, saying that the Duke used this dissimulation to avoid war with both the realmes at once, adding thereto, that if he should be overthrowne, he could not after aide him at his ease. Notwithstanding the Duke seeing that he could no longer stay the King there, but that needs he would returne into England, and fearing for divers considerations altogither to discontent him : pretended openly that he would not aide him, and made proclamation that no man should go to his service : but covertly he delivered him 50000 gildons of the Saint Andrewes crosse, and caused three or fower great ships to be armed for him at La Vere in Zeland,† which is a haven where al nations are received. Besides this, he entertained for him secretly fourteen ships of the Easterlings well appointed, who promised to serve him till he were landed in England and fifteene daies after, which was great aide considering the time.

* To wit, by the English men sent over by the Earle of Warwick.

† La Vere, otherwise called Camphere is in the Ile of Walkeren in Zeland not in Holland, and is the Scottish staple, wherefore I have been bold to amend the booke.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER VII

How King Edward returned into England, where
he slue in battell first the Earle of Warwick,
and then the Prince of Wales.



ING EDWARD departed out of Flanders the yere 1471 at the selfe same instant that the D. of Burgundie went to Amiens against the King. The said Duke thought now howsoever the world went in England he could not speede amisse, bicause he had friends on both sides: King Edward immediatly after his landing, marched straight towards London, because three or fower hundred Knights and Esquiers of his faction, together with others of the meaner sort, to the number of two thousand and better had retired themselves into the Sanctuaries of the citie, which was a happy chance for him, for he landed with small force. The Earle of Warwick being in the north parts with a great armie, hearing these newes made haste to be at London before him, rather for other respects than for that he greatly feared the revolt of the towne, notwithstanding the contrarie happened. For King Edward was received into the citie with great joy and triumph the Tuesday before Easter, contrarie to the expectation of most men, for all the world accounted him as utterly undone. And undoubtedly if they had shut the gates against him, he had been past all recoverie: for the Earle of Warwicke was but a daies journey behind him. There were three things especially (as I have heard) that caused the towne to revolt. First, the gentlemen that were in the sanctuaries and the yong Prince lately borne. The second, the great debts that the King owed in the towne, in respect whereof the merchants to whom he was indebted thought it their best way to take part with him. The third, a great many women of honor and rich merchants

*Heere our
English
affaires begin
the yeere,
1471.*

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

How King
Edward re-
turned into
England,
where he slue
in battell first
the Earle of
Warwick,
and then the
Prince of
Wales.

wives, with whom in times past he had been familiar, perswaded their husbands and friends to incline to him. He staid not past two or three daies in the towne: for upon Easter even he departed with all the force he could levy, and marched against the Earle of Warwicke, whom he met the next morning being Easter day: and as they stood in order of battell, the one in the face of the other, suddenly the D. of Clarence the Kings brother (who was reconciled to the King as before you have heard) revolted to the King with twelve thousand men and better,* which no lesse astonied the Earle than encouraged the King, whose force was not great. But all this notwithstanding the battell was cruell and blooddy. They were all footemen on both sides, of the Kings vaward a great number were slaine: then his battell and the Earles met, and joined so fiercely together, that the King himselfe fought in person more valiantly then any man of either army. The Earle of Warwicke used never to fight on foote, but his maner was when he had led his men to the charge, to take horse, and if the victorie fell on his side to fight among his soldiers, otherwise to depart in time. But at this battell he was constrained by his brother the Marques of Mountacute, a valiant Knight, to light on foote and send away his horse. To conclude, in this battell died the Earle and his brother, with a great number of gentlemen, the slaughter also of the poore people was great. For King Edward at his departure out of Flaunders, resolved to cry no more to save the people and kill the nobles: but he had conceived extreme hatred against the communaltie of England, both for the great favour they bare the Earle of Warwicke, and for other respects also: wherefore at this battell he spared them not. Of the Kings side died about fifteene hundred, and the field was valiantly fought.

At the time of this battell the Duke of Burgundie lay before Amiens where he received letters from the Dutches his wife, that King Edward her brother was not a little discontented with him, alleaging that the aide he gave him,

* Our Chronicles report that the Duke turned on the Kings side at Coventrie before the Kings comming to London: and they vary also in other circumstances from our author,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

was given in evill sort, and with evill will, so far fourth that he was almost utterly forsaken of him : and to say the truth the King and he after this never loved one an other. Notwithstanding the Duke supposing that this victorie would greatly further his affaires, caused the newes to be published in all places.

I had forgotten to tell you how King Edward finding King Henry at London, lead him with him into the battell above mentioned. This King Henry was a very simple man, and almost an innocent : and if I have not heard a lie, incontinent after the battell the Duke of Glocester K. Edwards brother, (who afterward named himselfe King Richard) slue this holy man K. Henry with his owne hands, or caused him to be slaine in his presence in some secret place.* The Prince of Wales was landed in England when this battell above mentioned was fought, having in his company the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, with divers others of his kinsfolkes and ancient followers of his house. His army was to the number of forty thousand, as I have been informed by divers that were with him : and if the Earle of Warwicke would have staid for him, it is very like the victory should have been theirs. But the Earle feared both the Duke of Sommerset, whose father and brother he had slaine : and also Queene Margaret the Princes mother : wherefore he fought alone and would not tarie for them.† Marke heere by this example how long ancient factions and partialities endure, how much they are to be feared, and what great damage ensueth thereof. So soone as King Edward had obtained this victory, he marched incontinent against the Prince of Wales, where another cruell battell was fought : for the Princes force was greater than the Kings, notwithstanding the lot of the victorie fell to the King, and the Prince was slaine upon the place,‡ with divers other great

CHAPTER VII

How King Edward returned into England, where he slue in battell first the Earle of Warwick, and then the Prince of Wales.

* Our histories report otherwise of King Henries death, for he was slain in the Tower, and not so soone after the battell.

† Our Chronicles report that the Duke of Sommerset was at Barnet field with the Earle of Warwicke, and repaired afterward to the Queene, and was taken in the second battell, and then beheaded.

‡ Our histories write that the Prince was not slaine in the battell but soone after, having had communication with King Edward.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

How King
Edward re-
turned into
England,
where he slue
in battell first
the Earle of
Warwick,
and then the
Prince of
Wales.

Lords, and a marvellous number of common soldiers. The Duke of Sommerset was taken, and the next day beheaded. In eleven daies the Earle of Warwick subdued the whole realme of England, at the least brought it to obedience: and in one and twenty King Edward recovered it, having fought two great and cruell battels. Thus you see what sudden mutations have beene in England. K. Edward caused many of the people to be put to death in many places, especially such as had made assemblies against him. And from that day forward raigned peaceably in England till his death, though not without great trouble and vexation of minde. I will here end my discourse of these English affaires, till time and occasion serve in some other place, onely adding this, that of all the nations in the world, the English men are most desirous to trie their quarrels by dint of sword.

CHAPTER VIII

How the wars revived betweene King Lewis and Charles Duke of Burgundie, by the sollicitation of the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine.



WILL now returne to our affaires on this side the sea, whereof I have made no mention since the Duke of Burgundies departure from before Amiens, the Kings returne into the countrey of Touraine, and the Duke of Guienne his brothers into Guienne. The said Duke of Guienne continued still his sute above mentioned for his mariage with the Duke of Burgundies daughter, whereunto the Duke in word ever shewed himselfe willing, but in deede meant nothing lesse, both bicause he purposed to use hir as an instrument whereby to entertaine all the world, and a marchandise to put every man in hope of, and also for that

PHILIP DE COMMINES

he stomacked the evill practises they had contrived to constrain him to this mariage perforce. The Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce busied himselfe in this treatie very earnestly, desiring that the mariage might seeme to be effected by his onely meanes and procurement. On the other side the Duke of Britaine traveled therein, to the end the whole honor thereof might redound to him. The King was as busie as the best to breake it off, though needlesly, as wel for the two reasons above alleaged, as also bicause the Duke of Burgundie was not desirous of so great a sonne in law, wherefore in vaine the King troubled himselfe, but he could not see another mans thoughts. And sure he had just cause of feare, for if this mariage had taken effect, his brother should have beene so mighty, that he and the Duke of Britaine joined together, might have put the Kings estate and his childrens in great danger. In the meane time about these affaires many ambassadors passed to and fro as well secretly as openly.

This often passing to and fro of ambassadors is a thing very dangerous: for under colour thereof many times evil practises are entertained: yet notwithstanding ambassadors must of force both be sent and received. They that shall reade this historie will aske peradventure what remedie I can devise against this inconvenience, bicause it seemeth almost remedillesse. For answer whereunto I will shew mine advise, notwithstanding that I know a number far better able to discourse heerof than my selfe. Ambassadors that come from perfect friends, with whom no occasion of quarrell can arise, must be well entertained, and permitted to come often to the Princes presence, I meane if the Prince be wise and of comely personage, otherwise the lesse he be seene the better. Notwithstanding when he must of necessitie be seene, let him be well apparelled, and well instructed what to say, and use short speech according to Princes amitie, which usually is but short. But if ambassadors be sent openly or secretly betweene Princes that are in continuall hatred and war, as all those have beene that I have knowen or beene conversant with in my time, sure there is great danger therein. Notwithstanding mine advise is, that ambassadors be well enter-

CHAPTER VIII

How the wars
revived be-
tweene King
Lewis and
Charles Duke
of Burgundie.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How the wars
revived be-
tweene King
Lewis and
Charles Duke
of Burgundie.

tained and honorably received : for to send to meete them, to lodge them well, to appoint trusty and wise men to accompanie them, are not onely points of great curtesie, but also of great safetie. For thereby you shall both understand who they are that resort to them, and also stay such as be light headed and discontented with the present estate, from bringing them intelligence : for there is no Princes court wherein all have contented mindes. Further, they must have speedie audience, and soone be dispatched. For me thinke it a perilous matter for a man to harbor his enimie in his house, but to defray them, to lodge them well, and to give them presents is but curtesie. Further, in time of open war no practise nor overture of peace must be altogether broken off (bicause peradventure the lest of them may serve us to good purpose) but all must be continued and entertained, and all ambassadors heard, using them as before is said, and appointing sure watch to espie who go to beare them intelligence, and are sent to them either by day or night : but this must be done as secretly as may be. Further, for one ambassador they send to you, send you two to them : and though they be wearie of your ambassadors, and forbid any more to come : yet send still when time and occasion serveth. For no spie shall have such libertie to inquire and understand of all matters as they. And if you send two or three together, it is impossible for your enemy to have so good watch (I meane using them with good termes as ambassadors are to be used) but that some of them shall have conference and intelligence with one or other. Lastly, a wise Prince must alwaies endeavor himselfe to have some secret friend or friends about his enimie, and beware as neere as he may (for in such cases men cannot alway do as they would) that his enimie have not the like about him. You will say peradventure that by such often sending I shall increase mine enimies insolencie and pride. But I force not thereof : for by this meanes I shall understande his secrets, and in the end all the profit and honor shall redound to me. And notwithstanding that mine enemy may deale with me after the same sort, yet wold I not cease from sending, but intertaine all overtures and breake off none, to the end I may alwaies have

PHILIP DE COMMINES

occasion to send. For all men have not like wisdom, like cunning, nor like experience in these affaires, neither like occasion to travell for experience, and in these cases the wisest win the garland: whereof I will give you a manifest example. In all treaties of peace concluded between the English and French nations, the French have alwaies shewed more finenes, subtiltie, and cunning than the English, so far forth that the said English men have a common proverbe, as once they told me, when I treated with them: that in all battels fought with the French, ever or for the most part they have obtained honor and victorie, but in all treaties that have been concluded between them they have ever received losse and dammage. And sure in mine opinion I have knowen in this realme (especially of King Lewis his training up) men as sufficient to negotiate in a treatie of peace as any in the world. For those that are imploied in these affaires must be milde men, and such as can beare patiently all rude words to compasse their purposes for their Masters profit, and such onely would King Lewis imploy. I have beene somewhat long in discoursing how ambassadors actions must diligently be observed, but not without cause: for I have seen and knowen so great falshood and treacherie used under colour thereof, that I could no sooner end my discourse.

This mariage between the Duke of Guienne and the Duke of Burgundies daughter was so earnestly laboured, that in the end some promise was made therof both by mouth and letter. But I have knowen the like done to Nicholas Duke of Calabria and Loraine* sonne to Iohn Duke of Calabria so often above mentioned, and to Philibert Duke of Savoy that last died, and to Maximilian Duke of Austrich now King of Romans onely sonne of Frederike the Emperor, who also received a letter written with the damsels owne hand by her fathers commandement, and a diamond therewith. All which promises were made in lesse than three yeeres space: yet am I well assured that during the Dukes life, none of them should have been accomplished, at the least with his consent. But this letter above mentioned furthered much Duke Maxi-

CHAPTER VIII

How the wars
revived be-
tweene King
Lewis and
Charles Duke
of Burgundie.

* This Nicolas is named in other histories Marques du Pount.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How the wars
revived be-
tweene King
Lewis and
Charles Duke
of Burgundie.

milians sute, as heereafter you shall heare. I write not this to charge thereby the Duke of Burgundie, or any of those above mentioned, but onely to rehearse the course of these affaires. Further, I perswade my selfe that rude and simple men will not busie their braines about the reading of this historie : but Princes and Courtiers shall finde in it good lessons and advertisements in mine opinion. During this treatie of marriage divers new enterprises against the King were in communication. With the Duke of Burgundie was the Lord of Urfé, Poncet of Riviere, and certeine other meane personages that ran to and fro, for the Duke of Guiennes affaires. In like maner the Abbot of Begarde afterward Bishop of Leon was resident with him, for the Duke of Britaine. These advertised the Duke of Burgundy that the King practised to corrupt the Duke of Guiens servants, and to withdraw them from him, partly by love, partly by force : adding also that he had already razed a certeine place belonging to the Lord of Estissac, the Duke of Guiennes servant, and had begun divers other attempts against his brother, so far forth, that he had withdrawne from him certeine of his houshold servants : whereby appeered manifestly (as they said) that he ment to take Guienne from him now as in times past he had done Normandy, once granted him for his partage as before is mentioned. The Duke of Burgundy sent divers ambassadors to the King about these affaires, who ever excused himselfe,* and accused his brother, saying that for his part he minded not to touch his brothers partage : but that his brother by seeking to inlarge his limits, was author of all these troubles.

We have here to consider how troublesom, dangerous, and far from all good end the affaires of this Realme are, when it is in discord and civill dissension : for notwithstanding that at the beginning of the troubles all men hope shortely to see them at an end : yet is the contrary greatly to be feared, for though the fire be kindled at the first, but betweene two or three Princes or men of meaner estate : yet

* The King made war upon his brother bicause he had restored the Earle of Armignac to all his possessions in Guienne, whom the King before had banished.—*Annal. Aquit.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

before two yeeres be expired, all our neighbours shall be bidden to the banquet, as plainly may appeere by this that followeth. At this very instant that I now write of, the D. of Guienne at the least his servants, and the D. of Britaine desired the Duke of Burgundy in no wise to call the Englishmen to his aide: for seeing all that they did was for the good and benefite of the realme, they would not bring the ancient enimies of the crowne into the realme: adding farther that if he would be in a readines they should be strong ynough of themselves, aswell bicause of their great forces as also of the good intelligence they had in the realme with divers Captaines and others. And once it was my chance to be present when the Lord of Urfé had communication with the Duke to this effect, and withall pressed him earnestly with all speede to leavy his army. The Duke stode at a window and called me to him and said: Heere is my Lord of Urfé that presseth me earnestly to leavy the greatest force that possibly I may, alleaging that it shall be greatly for the benefite of the realme: what thinke you of this motion if I enter into the realme with my army, shal I do any great good there? I answered him merily that I thought no: then said he: I love the realme of Fraunce better than my Lord of Urfé weeneth, for where it hath one King I would it had six.

During the treatie of mariage above mentioned, Edward King of England who thought verily that the mariage should have bin accomplished: (wherein he was deceived, as was also the King) travelled earnestly with the Duke of Burgundy to breake it off, alleaging that the K. had no issue male, wherfore if he hapned to die the crowne should descend to his brother, whereby (if this marriage tooke effect) the realme of England should stand in great danger, so many seigniories being united to the crowne. This matter troubled marvellously though needlesly, not onely the King of England, but his whole Councell also in such sort, that they would give no credit to the Duke of Burgundy what promise soever he made to the contrary. The said Duke notwithstanding the request above mentioned made unto him by the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine, for not calling in strangers to his

CHAPTER VIII

How the wars
revived be-
tweene King
Lewis and
Charles Duke
of Burgundie.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How the wars
revived be-
tweene King
Lewis and
Charles Duke
of Burgundie.

aide, was very desirous that the King of England should invade some part of the realme, and himselfe would have pleaded ignorance therein. But the Englishmen would not be wooon thereunto: for they so much feared the annexing of the house of Burgundie by this mariage to the crowne of Fraunce, that they would at that time rather have aided the King, than invaded him. You see heere all these Princes throughly busied and accompanied with a number of wise men, who (as the sequele well declared) foresaw afar of more by the one halfe than in their life time tooke effect: for they all through this continuall toile and travell, in short space one after another ended their lives, each man rejoicing at others death as of a thing most desired. Soone after also followed their masters, leaving their successors troubles enow, all save the King our master who left his realme to his sonne, quiet both from foraine wars and civill dissention, so that he did more for him than ever he either would or could doe for himselfe: for I never knew him in peace save onely a little before his death.

The Duke of Guienne at this present lay sicke and in danger of death as som said, but others affirmed the contrarie: his men pressed earnestly the Duke of Burgundie to put himselfe into the field, because the time of the yeere served fitly for that purpose, and advertised him that the Kings armie was abroad, and lay at Saint Iohn d'Angelie, or at Xainctes, or thereabout. To be short, they labored the Duke so importunately, that he went to Arras, and there assembled his forces, and marched towards the townes of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier: his armie was marvellous great, yea the greatest that ever he had before: for in it were twelve hundred Launcers of his ordinary retinue, every one of them accompanied with three archers well armed and well mounted: farther in every company of these Launcers were ten men of armes for a supply, besides the lieutenant and ensine bearer. The gentlemen of the Dukes dominions were likewise in very good order: for they were very well paid and led by valiant knights and esquires. And sure at that time these countries were marvellous rich.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER IX

How the finall peace treated of betweene the Duke of Burgundie and the King brake off bicause of the Duke of Guiens death, and how these two great Princes sought to deceive each other.



WHILE the Duke was levying his armie above mentioned, the Lord of Cran and Master Peter Doriole Chauncellor of Fraunce came to him twise or thrise from the King, and secretly treated with him of a finall peace, which heeretofore could never be concluded, bicause the Duke required restitution of Amiens and Saint Quintine, whereunto the King would never condescend: but now partly bicause of the great preparation he sawe made against him, and partly in hope to compas certaine purposes wherof heerafter you shall heare, he agreed to yeeld them. The conditions of this peace were, that the King should restore to the Duke Amiens and Saint Quintine, and whatsoever else was in controversie betweene them. That he should abandon the Earles of Nevers and Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce, and permit the Duke to do with them and all their possessions at his pleasure, and seize them into his owne hands if he could. That the Duke in like maner should abandon the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine, and permit the King to do with them and their seignories at his pleasure. I was present when the Duke of Burgundie sware this treatie, and likewise the Lord of Cran, and the Chancellor of Fraunce in the Kings name, who also at their departure from the Duke advised him not to dismisse his armie, but to march still forward, to the end the King their Master might make the speedier deliverie of the two places above

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the
finall peace
treated of
betweene the
Duke of Bur-
gundie and
the King
brake off.

named. Further Simon of Quingy was sent with them to see the King sweare and confirme this treatie, which his ambassadors had concluded : but the King delaied the confirmation a certaine space, and in the meane time happened his brothers death.

The Duke being ready to depart from Arras received two several advertisements: one that Nicholas Duke of Calabria and Loraine, heire of the house of Anjou, and sonne to Iohn Duke of Calabria was comming to him about his daughters mariage, whom he honorably received, and put in great hope of his sute. But the next day being the 15 of May 1472 (as I remember) came letters from Simon of Quingy the Dukes ambassador to the King, wherein he advertised his Master of the Duke of Guiennes death, and that the K. had alreadie recovered a great part of his counttie. The like advertisements received he also incontinent from others, but reporting diversly of the said Dukes death. Soone after returned Simon of Quingy from the King with a cold answer : for he refused to sweare the treatie, which the Duke tooke very disdainfully as a matter tending to his contempt and dishonor. His men also in time of war as well for this as other causes spake very villanous and opprobrious words of the King, and I warrant you the French requited them with the like. The Duke of Burgundie being almost out of his wits bicause of these newes, by the perswasion of certaine no lesse sorie for this accident than himselfe, writ letters to divers townes of the realme, charging the King with his brothers death, but little it availed, for no man stirred.* Notwithstanding if the Duke of Guienne had lived, undoubtedly the King should have had ynough to do : for the

* The Duke of Guienne died the 12 of May, but Meyer saith the 24, *Annal. Aquit.* the 11. Of his death reade *Annal. Burgund.* lib. 3. fol. 946; Meyer lib. 17. fol. 353 writeth thus of it : 'Rex fratri venenum miscet per Iordanum Abbatem, Divi Ioannis beenedictini nominis': where reade also what Thomas Basinus Bishop of Lisieux writeth of the Dukes death, who compareth King Lewis to Cain, Atreus, Thiestes, Polinices, and Eteocles. Hollandiæ scriptor saith thus : 'Rex ille, inquit idem, fecit quod Cain, qui unicum fratrem suum Abel interfecit. Dedit enim Rex mortiferum Carolo fratri venenum, quo non statim extinctus est, sed mensibus aliquot miserabiliter afflictus.' Gaguin a

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Britons were in a readines to invade him, having greater intelligences in the realme than ever before : all the which failed by the Dukes death.

The Duke of Burgundie in this furie put himselfe into the field, and marched towards Nesle in Vermandois, making foule and cruell war, contrarie to his accustomed maner : for he spoiled and burned all the countrey as he passed. His vaward marched before him, and besieged the said towne of Nesle being of no force : but the Duke himselfe lodged three leagues from it. Within the towne were certaine franke archers that slew a herald of the Dukes comming to summon them. Further, their captaine came foorth to parle under suretie, thinking to bring the matter to composition but could not, and as he returned into the towne (the truce yet continuing bicause of his salie) they within the towne (notwithstanding that themselves stood open upon the wall no man seeking to hurt them) slue yet two other of the Dukes men, wherefore the truce was disavowed, and word sent to the Lady of Nesle being within the towne, to come foorth with all hir household and stuffe, which she did accordingly: and immediately after, the place was assaulted and taken, and the greatest part of them that were within it slaine : all that were taken alive were hanged, save a few whom the soldiers for very pitie let go, a number also had their hands cut off. It lotheth me to make mention of this crueltie : but bicause I was present, somewhat I am forced to write thereof. And sure either the Duke was marvellously passionate, in that he committed so cruell an act, or some great cause mooved him thereunto. He alleaged two, the one the Duke of Guiennes death, whereof he spake very strangely upon other mens report : the other the grieve he

CHAPTER IX

How the finall peace treated of betweene the Duke of Burgundie and the King brake off.

French historiographer saith thus : The King was advertised of his brother Duke Charles his death, who died at Bordeaux poisoned by a certaine Abbot, but not without the Kings consent as the report went. *Annal. Aquit.* written by a French man seeme to make King Lewis accessorie to his brothers death. The Duke was poisoned as he sat at the table with the Lady of Mountsoreau whom he entertained, and who was also poisoned with him. The King commanded the Abbots processe to cease, and the rest which were suspected : whereby he plainly bewraied his owne guiltie conscience.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the
finall peace
treated of
betweene the
Duke of Bur-
gundie and
the King
brake off.

had conceived for the losse of Amiens and Saint Quintin above rehearsed.

Some that shall read this that followeth, will thinke happily that there was small faith in these two Princes, or that I misreport them: I would be loth to misreport either of them. And to the King our Master, how much I am bound all the world knoweth. But to continue my historie (right reverend) in such sort as you have required, I am forced to utter that I knowe howsoever it passed. And I doubt not but these two, being compared with other Princes, shall seeme noble, woorthie, and honorable, and the King our Master wise above all the rest, who left his realme enlarged and in peace with all his enimies. Wherefore let us now consider whether of these two Princes sought to deceive the other, to the end that if heereafter this historie happen to fall into the hands of some yoong Prince that hath to negotiate in such like affaires, he may by reading thereof be the better instructed how to looke to himselfe. For notwithstanding that neither Princes nor enimies be alwaies alike, nor deale alike, in like affaires: yet it is good to know the histories of times past. To speake therefore uprightly, I thinke both these Princes were fully bent each to deceive other, and tended both to one end, as you shall heare. Both of them had their armies abroad in a readines. The King had already taken divers places, and during the treatie, made sharpe war upon his brother, whom the Lords of Courton, Patris, Foucart and divers others had already relinquished, and were received into the Kings service. Further, his army lay about Rochell, having great intelligence in the towne, for the citizens practised continually, as well because of the rumor of this treatie, as also because of the Dukes sicknes. And I thinke the Kings resolution was, if he could atchieve his enterprise there, or his brother hapned to die, not to sweare the treatie: but if he found great resistance, to sweare it, and performe his promise, thereby to avoid all danger. And sure he lost no time, but used great diligence, delaying also very cunningly Simon of Quingy the space of eight daies, during the which delay, his brother died: further, he knew well the Duke of Burgundie

PHILIP DE COMMINES

so greatly to desire the restitution of these two townes above named, that he durst not flatly fall out with him. Wherefore he meant to delay him, and foade him forth with faire words fifteen or twenty daies (as he did accordingly) to see in the meane time what would happen. Now that I have spoken of the King, and shewed how he was purposed to deale with the Duke, it is fit I should also declare how the Duke was minded towards him, and thought to delude him, had not the Duke of Guiennes death happened. Simon of Quingy by the Kings request had a commission from the Duke his Master, commanding him immediately after the treatie sworne, and writings delivered for the confirmation thereof, to go into Britaine to informe the Duke of Britaine of the conditions of the peace, and in like maner the Duke of Guiennes ambassadors resident in Britaine, to the end they might advertise their Master thereof at Bourdeaux: whereby the King meant to put the Britons into the greater feare, when they should see themselves abandoned of him that was their chiefe anchor hold.

Now you shall understand that Simon of Quingy had in his company a rider of the Dukes Escuirie called Henry, a Parision borne, a wise fellow and of good experience: who had a letter of credit to the said Simon written with the Dukes owne hand, but his commission was not to deliver it till the said Simons departure from the King, and his arrivall to the Duke of Britaine at Nantes, where his charge was to deliver him the letter and this message withall. That he should will the Duke of Britaine not to thinke that his Master would abandon the Duke of Guienne and him, for he would succour them both with body and goods, and that he had concluded his treatie to none other ende but to avoid war, and recover the townes of Saint Quintine and Amiens: which the King in time of peace contrary to his promise had taken from him. And further to advertise the said Duke, that the Duke his Master would send an honorable ambassage to the King (so soone as he should be seized of that he demanded) humbly to beseech him to end this war, and relinquish his enterprize against the said two Dukes, and not to give credit to the oath he had sworne, which he was no

CHAPTER IX

How the
finall peace
treated of
betweene the
Duke of Bur-
gundie and
the King
brake off.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the
finall peace
treated of
betweene the
Duke of Bur-
gundie and
the King
brake off.

more determined to observe, than the King had observed the treatie made before Paris called the treatie of Conflans : and the treatie which he had sworne at Peronne, and long after confirmed also. Further desiring him to call to remembrance, that he tooke these townes against his faith and promise in time of peace : wherefore he must hold himselfe contented if he recovered them after the same sort. And as touching the Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce, and the Earle of Nevers whom the King had permitted him to use at his pleasure, he would protest, that notwithstanding he hated them as he had just cause to do : yet would he forgive all their offences, and let them live in quiet, desiring the King to grant these two Dukes the like : and that it would please him to suffer all men to live in peace and safety, in such maner and forme as he had sworne at Conflans, when they were all there assembled together : which if he refused to do, he would then succour his confederates. And it was determined that the Duke should be in campe when this ambassage should be sent to the King. But God disposed otherwise of these purposes : for death which departeth all things, and changeth all determinations, set them otherwise a worke, as partly you have understood already, and shall hereafter perceive more at large : for the King restored not these two townes, and yet had the Duchie of Guienne by his brothers death, as reason was.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER X

How the Duke of Burgundy seeing that he could not take Beauvais, before the which he had laide his siege, went to Roan.



OW to returne to the war, you have heard how certaine poore franke archers were handled at the taking of Nesle: thence the D. departed and went before Roie: within the which were 1500 franke archers and certaine men of armes of the Arriereban. The Dukes force was never so great as at that present. The next day after his arrivall, these franke archers fearing their lives, leapt downe the wals and yeilded themselves: and the third day the rest that yet remained within rendered both themselves and the towne by composition, leaving behinde them both horse and harness, save that every man of armes brought forth a travelling nag. The Duke left men in the towne and went to Mondidier which he began to raze, meaning utterly to destroy it and lay it desolate, but because of the good wil he perceived the people of those parts* to beare him, he caused it to be repaired, and left a garrison in it. From thence he departed, meaning to march straight into Normandie: but as he passed hard by Beauvais the Lord of Cordes who led his vaward, rode to the towne, and at his first arrivall the suburbs before the Bishops palace were taken by a covetous Burgundian named Master Iames of Montmartin: who had under his charge a hundred launces, and three hundred archers of the Dukes ordinarie retinue. The Lord of Cordes scaled the towne on the other side, but he lacked ladders, and those few he had were too short. He

* The French hath Chastellenies, which were places where certaine courts of the inferior jurisdiction were held, to the which the countrey there about was bound to repaire.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

X

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundy went
to Roan.

had two canons which shot twice at the towne gate, and brake downe a peece thereof: and if he had beene furnished to have continued the shot, undoubtedly he had entred the towne, but he was unprovided, because he came not for any such exploite. At his first arrivall none were in the towne, but the citizens themselves, and the captaine of the towne called Loyset of Bailligny, with certaine soldiers of the Arriereban, but not ynow to defend the place. Notwithstanding it pleased God miraculously to preserve it as he manifestly declared. For the Burgundians that were with the Lord of Cordes fought hand to hand with the French at the breach made in the gate: whereupon the said Cordes sent word divers times to the D. of Burgundy to make haste thither, assuring him that the towne was his owne. But in the meane time while the Duke was upon the way, one within devised to throw flaming fagots in their faces that were about to breake downe the gate: whereof they threw so great plentie, that the gate and the porch tooke fire in such sort, that the Burgundians were forced to retire till the fire ceased. Soone after arrived the Duke himselfe, who in like maner held the towne as taken, the fire being once quenched which was verie great, for all the porch was on fire. And undoubtedly if he had lodged part of his armie on the other side of the towne towards Paris, no man could have entred to releve it. But it pleased God he should make doubt where none was: for because of a little brooke that was to passe he made difficultie so to do then, and yet afterward when a great number of men were entred the towne he would have done it, and was hardly dissuaded from it: notwithstanding that thereby he should then have endangered his whole army. All this happened the eight and twentieth of Iune in the yeere 1472. The fire above mentioned continued all day, and in the evening ten launces onely of the Kings ordinarie retinue entred the towne, as I was afterward informed: for I served yet the Duke of Burgundie, but we saw them not enter, both because every man was busied in making his lodging: and also because we had no force on that side the towne. By breake of day the Dukes batterie was bent against the wals: but soone after we saw two hundred men

PHILIP DE COMMINES

of armes enter the towne: and had it not beene for their comming, I thinke the citizens would have treated of a composition: which notwithstanding the Duke in this fury would never have granted: for he desired to take the towne by assault, and if he had so done, undoubtedly he would have burnt it, which had beene great pitie: sure it was preserved by very miracle. After these men of armes were entred, the Dukes artillerie shot continually the space of fiftene daies, and the place was as well beaten as ever was any, in such sort that the breach was saultable: but the ditch of the one side of the burned gate stood ful of water, so that we were forced to build a bridge over it: but on the other side we might come hard to the wals without any danger, save of one flanker which was so low that our artillerie could not beat it.

It is great danger and folly to assault a towne so well defended as this was: for within it was the Constable* (as I remember) or lay hard by it, I wot not well whether, the Marshall Ioachin, the Marshall of Loheac, the Lord of Crussoll, William of Valleu, Mery of Croy, Salleszar de Thevenot of Vignoles, being all ancient captaines, accompanied with an hundred men of armes of the Kings ordinarie retinue: besides a great number of footemen and others that were come thither with them. Yet the Duke contrarie to the opinion of his whole army, determined to give the assault. And the night before, as he lay on his field bed in his clothes, according to his accustomed maner, he asked certaine there present, whether they thought the towne would abide the assault: who answered that they thought yea, seeing they were force sufficient to defend it: at the which answer he scoffed, saying that they should not finde a man there the next day. In the morning by breake of day the assault was given vere couragiously, and the breach no lesse valiantly defended. A great number went thronging on our new made bridge in such sort, that an ancient knight of Burgundy called Despiris was smothered there,

CHAPTER

X

How the Duke of Burgundy went to Roan.

* *Annal. Franc.* report that the Constable lay hard by the towne, but mooved not to defend it, for the which cause it was thought he had intelligence with the Duke.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

X

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundy went
to Roan.

who was the best man that died before the town. On the other side of the gate certaine of our men got up to the top of the wall, but some of them never returned. They fought hand to hand a great while, and the assault continued so long, that fresh bands were appointed to succeed, the first being wearied: but because the Duke saw his men to labour in vaine, he caused them to retire: yet notwithstanding they within salied noi, for they saw company ynough ready to receive them. At this assault were slaine sixescore soldiers,* and the best man that died there was the above-named Despiris. It was thought at the first that many more had beene lost: for above a thousand were hurt. The next night they within salied foorth, but because their number was small, and the most of them on horsebacke, and therby encombred with the cords of our tents, they did no great exploit, but lost two or three gentlemen of their company, and hurt one of ours named Master Iames d'Orson, a very honest gentleman, and master of the Dukes Ordinance, who a few daies after died of the said hurt.

Seven or eight daies after this assault, the Duke would have divided his army into two bands, and lodged part thereof at the gate towards Paris, contrary to all mens advise and to all reason, considering the great number of soldierrs within the towne. This should have beene done at the beginning, but now it was too late. Wherefore seeing no remedie, he raised his campe in very good order,† hoping that they within would issue foorth to the skirmish, which notwithstanding they did not. From thence he marched into Normandy, because he had promised the Duke of Britaine to meete him. But because of the Duke of Guiennes death, he altered his minde, and stirred not out of his country. The Duke of Burgundy came before Eu, which was yeilded unto him, as was also Saint Valery, and he burnt all this quarter even hard to Diepe. He tooke likewise Neuf-chastell, and burnt both it and all the country

* Gaguin saith, that there were slaine at the assault of Beauvais 1500 men.

† The Duke lay before Beauvais sixe and twenty daies, and levied his siege the 22d of Iuly.—Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

of Caux, or the greatest part, even hard to Roan gates: CHAPTER
further, he presented himselfe in person before the said X
towne of Roan: he lost many of his foragers, whereby his How the
army was in great distresse of victuals. In the ende be- Duke of Bur-
cause winter approached he departed homeward, and his gundy went
backe was no sooner turned, but the French recovered to Roan.
Eu and Saint Valery, and tooke prisoners by com-
position seven or eight Burgundians that
were within them.

CHAPTER XI

How the King made peace with the Duke of
Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundy,
and how the Earle of Saint Paul escaped for
that time a conspiracie that these two
Princes made against him.



ABOUT this time I came to the Kings
service in the yeere 1472, who received
also the selfesame yeere, the greatest part
of his brother the Duke of Guienne his
servants. He lay then at Pont de See,
making war upon the Duke of Britaine:
whither certain ambassadors came to him
out of Britaine, and from whence also he
sent his ambassadors thither. Among the rest that came
to him to the said towne of Pont de See, were Philip of
Essars, servant to the Duke, and William of Sousplenville
servant to the Lord of Lescut, the which Lescut seeing his
Master the Duke of Guienne at the point of death, tooke
sea at Bordeaux and departed into Britaine, fearing to fall
into the Kings hands: he embarked in time, and carried
away with him the Duke of Guiennes Confessor, and

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XI

How the
King made
peace with
the Duke of
Britaine, and
truce with
the Duke of
Burgundy.

a rider of his stable, who were charged with the Dukes death, and remained prisoners in Britaine many yeeres after.*

When these runnings to and fro had indured a while, the King in the end determined to have peace with the Duke of Britaine, and to deale so liberally with the Lord of Lescut that he would thereby assuage the evill will he bare him, and win him to his service. For as he knew the Duke of Britaines forces, being governed by so woorthie a man, greatly to be feared: so was he assured if he could win the said Lescut to his service, that the Britons would labor for peace, bicause he was the onely man of wisdom and experience in the countrey: besides that, generally the Britaines desire nothing more than peace with Fraunce: bicause continually a great number of them have good entertainment, and be in good estimation in this realme, and not unwoorthily: for sure in times past they have done great service heere. Wherefore me thinke the King did very wisely in concluding this treaty, notwithstanding that some not considering so deeply thereof as himselfe, thought otherwise of it. He had a very good opinion of the Lord of Lescut, and knew there was no danger in putting those offices and places of charge that he did into his hands, bicause he was a man of honor, and would never during these divisions have any intelligence with the English men, nor consent that the townes in Normandie† should be yeelded to them, but had beene the onely stay thereof, which was the cause of all his preferment. When the King had well debated this matter, he commanded Sousplenville to put in writing all that his Master required, as well for the Duke as himselfe: which done, the King granted him all his demands being these: A pension of 80000 franks for the Duke: for his master the Lord of Lescut a pension of 6000 franks, the government of Guienne, the two Seneschalships of Launes and Bordelois, the captainship of one of the castels of Bor-

* This Confessor was the Abbot of S. Iohn d'Angely, who died prisoner at Nantes in Britaine, in the great tower du Buffoy, where he confessed marvellous matters, and died very strangely.—*Annal. Aquit.*

† These places were those that remained in the Lord of Lescuts hands by the treaty of Caen, mentioned lib. 1. cap. 15.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

deaux, the captainship of Blaye, and of the two castels of Bayonne, of Dax, and of Saint Sever, 24000 crowns in ready money, the Kings order, and the Earldome of Comminges. All the which the King granted and agreed unto, save that the Dukes pension was diminished by the one halfe, and continued but two yeeres. Further, the King gave the said Sous-plenville 6000 crownes (which with the other 24 thousand given to his Master were to be paid in fower yeeres) a pension of 1200 franks, the Mayraltie of Bayonne, the Bailiwick of Montargis, and certaine other small offices in Guienne. All the which above rehearsed estates, his Master and he enjoied till the Kings death. Philip d'Essars likewise was made Bailife of Meaux, and lieutenant of the waters and forrests throughout the realme of Fraunce, and had also a pension granted him of 1200 franks, and 4000 crownes in ready money: all the which offices and estates from that day till the King our Master his death they quietly enjoied, and the Lord of Comminges continued during his life his trustie and faithfull servant.

The King having pacified all matters in Britaine marched straight toward Picardie: for he and the Duke of Burgundie used alwaies when winter approached, to make truce for sixe moneths, or a yeere, and some time more. After the which their woonted maner they made truce at this present, which the Chancellor of Burgundie with certaine others came to the King to conclude. There the Kings Commissioners read the finall peace made with the Duke of Britaine, wherby the said Duke renounced the league he was entred into with the English men and the D. of Burgundie: wherefore the King required the Duke of Burgundies ambassadors not to comprehend the Duke of Britaine in the truce as their confederate: whereunto they would not condescend, but agreed that the Duke of Britaine should be at his choise to declare himselfe within the time accustomed, either the Kings confederate or theirs: alleaging that heertofore also the said Duke had abandoned them by writing, yet had not departed from their friendship. Further adding, that though he were a Prince wholly led and governed by others, and doing little of himselfe: yet in the end he ever yeelded to that which was

CHAPTER XI

How the King made peace with the Duke of Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundy.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XI

How the
King made
peace with
the Duke of
Britaine, and
truce with
the Duke of
Burgundy.

best and most necessary for his estate. All this was done in the yeere 1473.

During this treatie they murmured on both sides against the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce: for the King and those that were neerest about him had conceived marvellous hatred against him. And the Duke of Burgundie hated him worse than they, as he had just cause to do: for I know the reasons that mooved them both to beare him ill will. The Duke had not yet forgotten that he was the onely occasion of the losse of Amiens and Saint Quintin, and perceived well that he nourished this war betweene the King and him. For in time of truce he spake him as faire as was possible, but so soone as the war opened, he shewed himselfe his mortall foe. Further, the Earle had sought to constraîne him by force to marrie his daughter to the Duke of Guienne, as before you have heard. Besides all this there was yet another grudge: for while the Duke lay before Amiens, the Constable made a road into Henault, and among other cruell exploits burned the castell of Seure, belonging to a Knight named Master Baudouin of Launay: before the which time they used on neither side to fire any place. But in revenge thereof the Duke this last sommer burned the countrie all the way his armie passed, as before you have heard. Thus they began to practise the Constables destruction: for accomplishment whereof divers of the Kings men conferred with such of the Dukes servants as they knew to be his mortal enimies: for the French had him in as great jealousie as the Duke of Burgundie had, and accused him as the onely occasion of the war: wherefore all his treaties and practises with both parties were ripped up and discovered, and they both sought his death.

Some man may peradventure aske heerafter, if the King alone were not of power sufficient to put him to death: whereunto I answer that he was not. For his lands lay just in the midst betweene the King and the Duke: further, he held Saint Quintin a great and strong towne in Verman-dois, and of his owne Han, Bohain, and other very strong places neere to the said Saint Quintin, the which he might man at all times with any nation at his owne pleasure. He

PHILIP DE COMMINES

had charge under the King of fower hundred men of armes well paied, of the which companie himselfe was controller and tooke the muster, which was no small profit to him: for his companies were not complete. Besides all this he had a yeerly pension of 45000 franks, and of everie tunne of wine that passed through his countrie into Flaunders or Henault, he received a crowne for impost. He had also goodly seigniories and possessions of his owne inheritance, and great intelligence as well in Fraunce as in the Dukes dominions, where he had many kinsfolks and allies.

CHAPTER XI

How the King made peace with the Duke of Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundy.

The truce betweene the King and the Duke continued a whole yeere: all the which space this practise endured, and the Kings men addressed themselves wholie to the Lord of Hymbercourt (so often before named,) who of long time had bene the Constables enimie: besides that, their hatred was lately increased. For in an assemblie held at Roye, where the Constable and others were commissioners for the King: and the Chancellor of Burgundie and the Lord of Hymbercourt, with divers others for the Duke: as they conferred together of their affaires, the Constable gave the lie very shamefully to the said Hymbercourt, who answered thereunto, that he would not beare this reproch at his hands, were it not in respect of the Kings honor, under whose safe conduct he was come thither as ambassador, and of the Duke his Master, whose person he represented, and to whom he would make report of this injurie done unto him. This onely villanie and outrage so soone done, cost the Constable both lands and life as heereafter shall be declared more at large. Wherefore those that are in authoritie, yea and Princes themselves ought to take great heed how they injurie any man by word or deed, and whom they injurie: for the greater they are, the greater greefe and sorrowe is conceived of their words, bicause they that are injured thinke that the great authoritie of the person that injurieth them, will cause them the more to be marked and noted. And if he be their Master or Prince they utterly dispaire of benefite or good turne at his hands: and most men serve rather for the good they hope to have, than for that they have already received.

But to returne to the point, the Kings men practised con-
EE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XI

How the
King made
peace with
the Duke of
Britaine, and
truce with
the Duke of
Burgundy.

tinually with Hymbercourt, and likewise with the Chancellor, as well because the words spoken at Roye touched him in part, as also because of the neere friendship that was betweene Hymbercourt and him. And the matter was so earnestly pressed, that an assembly was held about it at Bouvines a towne neere to Namur, whither the King sent the Lord of Courton governor of Lymosin, and Master Iohn Heberge afterward Bishop of Eureux: and the Duke the said Chancellor and Hymbercourt, being the yeere 1474.

The Constable being informed that they practised at Bouvines to his cost, sent with all speed to both the Princes, advertising them that he understood of al their doings, and so cunningly he wrought, that he perswaded the King that the Duke meant nothing but deceit, onely to allure the said Constable to his friendship: whereupon with all speed the King sent to his ambassadors at Bouvines, commanding them to conclude nothing against the Constable for certaine reasons he would declare unto them, but to prolong the truce according to their instructions, for a yeere or sixe moneths I wot not well whether. But when the messenger arrived, he found the treatie already concluded, and the writings sealed and delivered the night before. Notwithstanding the ambassadors had so good intelligence together, and were so great friends each to other, that they delivered the writtings backe againe: the contents whereof were, that the Constable for the reasons therein rehearsed, was declared enimie and traitor to both the Princes: who promised and sware each to other, that whether of them could first lay hands on him, should either put him to death within eight daies, or deliver him to the other to do with him at his pleasure. It was also therein concluded, that he should be proclaimed by sound of trumpet enemy to both the Princes, and likewise all that should serve, helpe, aide, or favour him. Further, the King promised to deliver to the Duke the towne of Saint Quintin, so often before mentioned, and to give him all the Constables treasure and moovables that should be found in the realme of Fraunce, with all such seigniories and lordships as were held of the said Duke, and among the rest Han and Bohain, which are two very strong places. Lastly, a day

PHILIP DE COMMINES

was appointed when both the King and the Duke should send their forces to besiege him in Han. Notwithstanding for the reasons above rehearsed, this conclusion was cleane broken off, and a day and place assigned where the Constable should come to commune with the King under safe conduct: for he stood in doubt of his person, because of the late treatie held at Bouvines. The place assigned was three leagues from Noyon neere to the towne of La Fere, upon a pretie river which no man could passe, because the Constables men had taken up all the bridges. In the said place was a narrow causey, overthwart the which a strong grate was built, whither the Constable came first, accompanied with all his men of armes, or the greatest part: for he had with him above three hundred gentlemen all men of armes: and himselfe ware his quirace under a short gowne ungirt. The King came accompanied with the Earle of Dampmartin Lord great Master of Fraunce, the Constables mortall enimie, and with sixe hundred men of armes and better, and sent me before him to make his excuse to the Constable of his long stay: and soone after arrived himselfe, and they communed together: at which their communication were present five or sixe of the Kings servants, and as many of the Constables, who excused his comming thither in armes, bicause he stood in feare of the Earle of Dampmartin as he said. To be short, in the end it was agreed that all offences past should be forgiven and forgotten: and the Constable passed through the grate to our side of the river, where the Earle of Dampmartin and he were made friends. That night he lodged with the King at Noyon, and the next morning returned to Saint Quintin thoroughly reconciled as he said. But when the King had well weighed this matter, and heard the murmuring of the people, he accused himselfe of great folly in going after this sort to commune with his servant, and stomaked not a little, that he found the grate shut betweene them, considering that all the Constables men of armes were his subjects and paid out of his coffers: wherefore if his hatred against the Constable were great before, sure this meeting much increased it: and as touching the Constable, his proud stomacke was no whit abated.

CHAPTER XI

How the King made peace with the Duke of Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundy.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

A discourse very fit for this place, of the wisdom of the King and the Constable, with good advertisements to such as are in credit with Princes.



F a man consider well this action of the Kings, he cannot but judge it to proceed of great wisdom: for I am of opinion that the Duke of Burgundie to recover Saint Quintine would easily have pardoned the Constable all his offences, notwithstanding any promise made to the King of the contrarie: Further, as touching the Constable, though he were a gentleman of great wisdom and understanding, yet did he very unadvisedly, and it appeared that God had utterly bereft him of all good advise, in that he came thus disguised before the King his Master, whose subjects all the men of armes were that accompanied him: and to say the truth, his verie countenance shewed him to be astonished and abashed thereat: for when he came in person to the place, and found the grate shut betweene the King and him, he caused it forthwith to be opened, and passed to our side of the river, where undoubtedly he was in great danger.

This his dooing peradventure himselfe and his familiar friends accounted a woorthy exploit: supposing the King to stand in feare of him, whom also they reputed a timorous Prince. And true it is that he was so at times when there was cause why: but not alwaies when the world so judged of him. For you shall understand, that the civill wars with the Princes of his realme, out of the which he had wound himselfe by large gifts and promises, had beaten this lesson into his head, not to put any thing in adventure if he could compassse his purpose by any other means: which caused a

PHILIP DE COMMINES

number of men to suppose all his dooings to proceede of feare. But diuers that upon this imagination attempted foolish enterprises against him, found themselves much deceived, namely, the Earle of Armignack and others, whom their fond attempts cost full deere. For the King knew when it was time to feare, and not to feare. Sure this praise I dare boldly give him (which though happily I have written before, yet deserveth againe to be spoken) that he was the wisest man in adversitie that ever I knew. But to returne to my discourse of the Constable, who desired peradventure to hold the King in feare, at the least I suppose so (for I will not charge him with it, but write this onely for an advertisement to those that are in Princes service, and understand not all alike the affaires of this world :) for mine owne part, if I had a friend, I would advise him to endeavor himselfe that his Master might love him, not feare him: for I never knew man whose authoritie depended of the feare his Master had of him, that sped not evill in the end, and that by his Masters consent. Examples ynow have beene seene heereof in our time, or not long before. In this realme of the Lord of Trimouille and others: In England of the Earle of Warwick and his faction. I could name some also in Spaine and in other countries. But those that shall reade this discourse may peradventure be able to say more therein than my selfe. This their presumption oftentimes proceedeth of their good service: for they thinke their experience so great that they cannot be spared, and their deserts such that their Masters ought to beare all things at their hands. But Princes on the contrarie side both say and thinke, that men are bound to do them service, and desire nothing more than to be rid of such malapert fellows. Touching the which point, I must needes speake somewhat of the King our Master: for once he told me in talking of those that do their Prince great service (naming withall his author from whom he received this opinion) that good service somtime undooeth men: and is recompensed with great ingratitude, not alwaies by the Masters forgetfulness, but many times through the servants owne fault: who presuming upon their good service behave themselves arrogantly,

CHAPTER XII

A discourse of
the wisdom
of the King
and the
Constable.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XII

A discourse of
the wisdom
of the King
and the
Constable.

either towards their Masters or their fellows. Further, as touching those that come to preferment in Court, this was his opinion: that he is happier that receiveth a benefit of the Prince he serveth, without great desert, whereby he standeth bound to his Prince: than he that hath done so great service, that his Prince seemeth indebted to him: adding, that he for his part loved those better that were bound to him, than those to whom he was bound. Thus you see how hard it is to live in this world in any estate: wherefore greatly are they bound to God, whom he hath indued with understanding how to governe themselves in their vocation. This interview between the King and the Constable was in the yeere 1474.

THE FOURTH BOOKE

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundie being seized of the
Duchie of Gueldres, sought to encroch farther
upon the Almaines, and how he laied
his siege before Nuz.



THE same sommer (as I remember) that the King and the Constable met, the Duke of Burgundie went to conquer the Duchie of Gueldres, upon a title woorthie of remembrance, to the end we may thereby consider the woonderfull judgments and power of God. There was a yoong Duke of Gueldres named Adolph, who married his wife (being of the house of Bourbon, and sister to Peter Duke of Bourbon* now living) in the Duke of Burgundies Court, for the which cause he was well favored there. This Duke Adolph committed an horrible fact: for one evening he tooke his father named Duke Arnold prisoner as he was going to bed, and led him five Dutch miles on foote bare legged in a marvellous cold night, and laid him in a deep dungeon the space of six moneths,† where he saw no light

* This Duke Adolph married Katherine daughter to Charles Duke of Bourbon, and Agnes sister to Philip Duke of Burgundy.—Meyer.

† Duke Arnold lay in prison sixe yeeres,—Meyer; but he misseth the cushion: for other approved authors, and namely Guicciardin, agree with Commynes.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundiesought
to encroch
farther upon
the Almaines,
and how he
laied his siege
before Nuz.

but through a little hole. Wherefore the Duke of Cleves (whose sister the old Duke being prisoner had married) made sharp war upon this young Duke Adolph. The Duke of Burgundy sought divers meanes to agree them, but no good could be done. Wherefore in the end the Pope and the Emperor began to stir in this matter so far forth, that the Duke of Burgundy under great curses, was commanded to take the old Duke out of prison, which he did accordingly: for the young Duke durst not withstand him, both because he saw so many good men against him, and also because of the Dukes great force. I have often seene them both together in the Duke of Burgundies chamber, pleading their cause before a great assembly, and once I saw the good old man present the combat to his sonne. The Duke of Burgundy was very desirous to agree them, and offered the young Duke (whom he favored) the title of Governor* of Guelderland with all the revenues thereof, save of one little towne neere to Brabant called Grave, which should remaine to the father, with the revenues of three thousand florens, a yeerely pension of as much, and the title of Duke, as was but reason. I with others wiser than my selfe were appointed to make report of these conditions to the young Duke, who answered us, that he had rather throw his father headlong into a Well, and himselfe after, than agree to such an appointment, alleaging that his father had been Duke forty fower yeeres, and that it was now time for him to governe. Notwithstanding he said that he would willingly agree to give him a yeerely pension of three thousand florens, with condition that he should depart the countrey as a banished man, never to returne: and divers others such like lewd speeches he used. This hapned at the very same instant, that the King wan Amiens from the Duke of Burgundie, who was then with these two Dukes at Dourlans whence because of the wars he departed in haste to Hedin, forgetting this matter. This young Duke put on French apparel,† and

* The French hath Mambourg or Membourg, which is as much as capitaine or governor: looke more hereof in the pedigree of the Dukes of Gueldres.

† Least it seeme strange that this young Duke, whom our author in

PHILIP DE COMMINES

departed with one onely servant, to repaire home into his countrey. But as he ferried over a water neere to Namur, he paied a gildon for his passage, whereupon a Priest there present mistrusting who he should be, communed thereof with the ferry man, and viewed well the yoong Duke and knew him. There he was taken and led to Namur, where he remained prisoner till the Duke of Burgundies death: after the which, the Citizens of Gaunt delivered him, and would perforce have constrained the Dukes daughter afterward Dutches of Austrich to marry him. They led him also with them before Tournay, where being weakely accompanied in a certaine skirmish he was miserably slaine, in full revenge of his impietie against his father. The father during his sonnes imprisonment died: the Duke of Burgundy yet living, whom because of his said sonnes ingratitude and unnaturalnes he made his heire, by the which title the Duke at this present conquered the said Duchy of Gueldres,* where he found some resistance: but because he was mightie and in truce with the King, he easily subdued it, and held it all the daies of his life, and his ofspring posseseth it yet at this day, and so shall as long as it pleaseth God. This as I said at the beginning, I have rehearsed onely to shew, that such crueltie and impietie never remaineth unpunished.

The Duke of Burgundy being returned into his countrey grew woonderfull loftie and high minded, because he had gotten this Dutchie into his clawes, and began to finde great sweetenes in these Duch enterprises, both for that the Emperor was a Prince of an abject minde, enduring all things rather than he would spend any thing: and also because without aide of the Princes of the Empire his owne force was but small. Wherefore the Duke prolonged the

this very Chapter reporteth to have been well favored of the Duke of Burgundy should be staid and imprisoned in his dominions: you shall understand that the Duke of Burgundy upon hope to be Duke Arnolds heire himselfe, altered his minde, and of the yoong Dukes friend became his foe.

* The emperor stirred not against the Duke of Burgundy, for taking by force the Duchy of Gueldres which was held of the Empire, bicause the Dukes of Gueldres by the space of thirty yeeres had done no homage to the Empire. The Duke subdued Gueldres, anno 1473.—Meyer.

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundiesought to encroch farther upon the Almaines, and how he laied his siege before Nuz.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

How the
Duke of Burgundiesought
to encroch
farther upon
the Almaines,
and how he
laied his siege
before Nuz.

truce with the King. Some of the Kings servants were of opinion, that the King did unadvisedly to prolong the truce, and suffer the Duke to grow as he did. And sure they had some apparance of reason to leade them so to say, but because they lacked experience and had not seene the world abroad, they wist not what the matter meant. But others that understood the case better than they, and were able to say more therein, because they had travelled those countries, advised the King to prolong the truce, and permit the Duke to weare and weary himselfe against the countrey of Almaine (the greatnes and force whereof is almost incredible)* alleaging that after he had taken one place, or atchived one enterprise, he would forthwith attempt another: for one good adventure could not content his nature, wherein he was of disposition cleane contrarie to the King: for the Duke the more he was busied, the more he sought to busie himselfe. Wherefore they told the King that he could no way better be revenged of the Duke, than by suffering him to run himselfe out of breath as he did, advising him withall rather to send him some small aide, than put him in any doubt of breach of the truce: further alleaging, that it could not otherwise happen but that he must of necessitie utterly consume himselfe against the greatnes and force of Almaine, because the Princes of the Empire would make resistance, were the Emperor never so simple a man: and so it came to passe in the end.

There was a quarrell† between two pretending title to the Bishoprick of Couloin: one of the which was the Lantzgrave of Hesses brother, and the other the Palzgrave of the Rhene his cosen.‡ The Duke of Burgundie tooke part with the Palzgrave, and attempted to place him in the sea of Couloin by force, trusting thereby to seaze some places of the

* It was our author himselfe that gave the King this advice.—Meyer.

† This quarrell began anno 1473.—Meyer.

‡ The Palzgraves name was Robert, his Chapter and he were at variance in such sort, that they had gotten him excommunicated, and chosen Harman the Lantzgrave of Hesses brother to governe the church. Then the Duke of Burgundy tooke upon him to place him againe in his Sea, which apperteined not to him, but to the Emperor and the Pope: in the end this Robert was taken and died in prison.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

countrey into his owne hands, and to that end went and laid his siege before Nuz, a towne neere to Couloin in the yeere 1474. He had so many great enterprises in his head, that in the ende the burthen thereof pressed him to the ground: for in the selfesame sommer he both travelled with Edward King of England to passe with his armie into Fraunce, being in a readines by his sute and sollicitation: and purposed also to atchieve his enterprise in Almaine which was this: If he had taken Nuz, he meant to man it well, and two or three other places above Couloin* whereby the citie of Couloin being at his commandement,† he might have gone up countermount against the river of Rhene into the countrey of Ferrette which he then held, and so all the Rhene should have beene under his subjection even downe to Hoiland, where it entreth the sea: upon the which river are more strong townes and castels than in any realme christened except Fraunce. The truce with the King was prolonged for sixe moneths, which time being now almost expired, the King travelled to prolong it still, to the end the Duke might do his pleasure in Almaine: whereunto the Duke would not agree because of his promise to the English men.

I would gladly passe over this siege of Nuz, because it is out of the course of my historie, for I was not present at it: notwithstanding somewhat I am forced to speake thereof, because of divers accidents depending thereupon. The said towne of Nuz was marvellous strong, and within it was the Lantzgrave of Hesse,‡ with many of his kinsfolkes and friends, to the number of 1800 horsemen as I have beene informed (who valiantly behaved themselves,) and of footemen sufficient. The Lantzgrave, as I have said, was brother to the Bishop

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundiesought to encroch farther upon the Almaines, and how he laied his siege before Nuz.

* The league betweene the Duke and the Bishop was, that these places here mentioned (belonging to the Church of Couloin,) should have remained to the Duke for his charges. Nuz was besieged the 28 of Iuly 1474.—Meyer.

† Nuz is beneath Couloin, so that if the Duke had held that and three or fower places above Couloin, the said city of Couloin being on all sides invironed by him, must perforce have been at his commandement.

‡ This Lantzgrave was Lodovicus, grandfather to Philip that last died.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundiesought
to encroch
farther upon
the Almaines,
and how he
laied his siege
before Nuz.

elected, against him whom the Duke of Burgundy defended, who laied his siege before Nuz in the yeere 1474.

His force was never so great as then, especially of horsemen: for because he meant to attempt somewhat in Italy, he had in pay a thousand Italian men of armes good and bad, under the leading of one called the Earle of Campobache a Neapolitan borne of the house of Anjous faction, a dangerous and a traiterous fellow. In the Dukes campe served also Iames Galeot a valiant gentleman of Naples, and divers others, whose names for brevitie I passe over. Further, he had in his armie three thousand English men excellent good soldiers, and of his owne subjects a marvellous number well armed, and who long had been trained up in the wars, besides great force of goodly peeces of artillerie: all the which preparation he put in a readines to joine with the English men at their landing, who used as great diligence in England as they could. But it is long before an army can be levied there, because the King may attempt no warre before he have assembled his court of Parliament, being the same in effect that the three estates in Fraunce, which me thinke is a very good and a laudable custome. For the King by that meanes is the stronger and the better served in all enterprises he taketh in hand with the consent of his estates, to whom when they are assembled he declareth his intent, and desireth aide of his subjects: for no subsidie is levied in England, but for invasion of Fraunce or Scotland, or such like enterprises of great charge, which then the people grant willingly and liberally, especially to passe into Fraunce: wherefore the Kings of England use often when money faileth them to levy an army, and make shew as though they would invade Scotland or Fraunce. But after they have received money for a yeere, they lie abroad in campe three months, and then returne home and dismisse their army: which practise King Edward was well acquainted with and used often.

It was at the least a yeere before this English army could be in a readines, but when it was furnished of all things necessarie, the King of England advertised the Duke of Burgundie thereof, who in the beginning of the sommer went

PHILIP DE COMMINES

before Nuz, trusting in short space to put his Bishop in possession, and to retaine certaine places, as Nuz and others in his owne hands, to what purpose you have heard before.

I thinke verily that this proceeded of God, who beheld with a pitifull eie this realme of Fraunce: which undoubtedly the Duke might shrewdly have shaken, considering that his army was mightie and all of olde soldiers, accustomed by the space of many yeeres to enter and spoile this realme without any resistance, save onely by defence of the strong townes. True it is that this proceeded of the King who would hazard nothing, partly for feare of the Dukes force, and partly for doubt of rebellion in his realme if he should receive an overthrow: for he knew himselfe not to be beloved of all his subjects, especially the nobilitie. And (if I may utter all) he hath eftsoones told me, that he knew his subjects well ynough, and should finde them rebellious if his affaires happened to have hard successe: wherefore when the Duke of Burgundie entred into the realme, he manned the townes well by the which he passed: whereby in short space the Dukes army brake it selfe, and the King never endangered his estate: which undoubtedly proceeded of great wisdom. But all this notwithstanding the Dukes force being so great as it was: if the King of Englands army had also entred in the beginning of sommer, (as assuredly it would, had not the Duke so obstinately lien before Nuz,) undoubtedly the realme had stood in great danger: for never King of England passed at once with so great force, nor so well disposed to fight. All the great Lords of England were there none excepted. Their men of armes were 1500 at the least, (which was much for the English men) all wel appointed and well accompanied, and 14000 archers on horseback, besides a great number of footemen that served in the armie, and in all their campe was not one Page. Further, the King of England had in a readines three thousand men to land in Britaine, to joine there with the Duke of Britaines forces. I saw my selfe two letters written with the Lord of Urfés owne hands, (then servant to the Duke of Britaine, but afterward Master of the horse to King Charles:) the one addressed to the King

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundiesought to encroch farther upon the Almaines, and how he laied his siege before Nuz.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundiesought
to encroch
farther upon
the Almaines,
etc.

of England, and the other to the Lord Hastings Lord great Chamberlaine of England.* The contents whereof among divers other things were, that the Duke of Britaine would do more in Fraunce by intelligence in a moneth, than the King of England and the Duke of Burgundie, (notwithstanding their great forces) in halfe a yeere: which words I thinke would have proved true, if the matter had come to execution. But God (who hath alwaies loved this realme) disposed of these affaires, as heereafter you shall heare.

These letters above mentioned, the King bought of one of the King of Englands Secretaries, for three score marks of silver.

CHAPTER II

How the towne of Nuz was succoured by the Emperor and the Almaines against the Duke of Burgundie, and of other enimies that the King procured the Duke.



THE Duke of Burgundie as you have heard, was now busied before Nuz, and found the enterprise of more difficultie then he supposed. The city of Couloin situate upon the river of Rhene, foure leagues above Nuz, spent monthly† in the wars 100000 golde gildons for feare of the Duke. And they and certaine other townes above them had already put fifteene or sixteene thousand footemen into the fiede, who encamped on the other side of the river, directly over against the Duke, and planted great force of artillerie upon the banke, thinking

* The Lord Hastings was indeed but Chamberlaine of the Kings house.

† The citie of Couloin tooke part with the Chapter against the Duke of Burgundies Bishop.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

thereby to cut off his victuals that came up the streame out of Guelderland, and to sinke the botes by canon shot. Moreover, the Emperor and the Princes Electors of the Empire assembled together about this busines, and concluded to levie an army: wherunto the King sent divers messengers to sollicite them, to whom also they sent a Chanon of Couloin, of the house of Baviere, accompanied with another ambassador, who brought him a roll of the armie the Emperour was resolved to levy, if he for his part would joine in the enterprise. It is not to be doubted but that they received a good answer with promise of all they demanded: further, the King assured by letters as well the Emperor as divers Princes and townes, that so soon as the Emperor with his army should be come to Couloin, he would send twenty thousand men to joine with him, under the leading of the Lord of Cran and Sallezarde. Thus this Dutch army prepared to march, being greater than is almost credible:* for all the Princes of Almaine as well spirituall as temporall, all the Bishops, townes, and commonalties had men there, yea, so great numbers every one of them, that (as I was informed) the Bishop of Munster, who is none of the richest Bishops, had in this armie sixe thousand footemen, fourteene hundred horsemen, and twelve hundred waggons all covered with greene: true it is that his Bishoprick lieth neere to Nuz.† The Emperor was seven moneths in levying this armie; which time expired: he came and encamped within halfe a league of the Duke of Burgundy: by divers of whose men I have beene advertised, that though the King of Englands armie and the Dukes had beene joined both together, yet should they not have beene the third part of the Emperors, neither in men nor in tents and pavilions. Besides the Emperors force, was also this other army above mentioned, which lay directly over against the Duke on the other side of the river, and endangered greatly his campe, and cut off much of his victuals.

When the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire were come before Nuz, they sent to the King a Doctor of great authoritie with them called Hesevare, afterward a Cardinall,

CHAPTER

II

How the town of Nuz was succoured by the Emperor and the Almaines against the Duke of Burgundie.

* The Emperor had in pay in this armie 80000 men.

† But his Bishoprick is on the other side the river of Rhene.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How the
towne of
Nuz was
succoured by
the Emperor
and the
Almaines
against the
Duke of
Burgundie.

who came to sollicite the King to performe his promise, and send the forces whereof he had assured the Emperor by letters, otherwise to tell him that the Almaines would conclude peace.

The King put him in good hope that he would so do, and gave him a present of fower hundred crownes, and sent with him to the Emperor one called Iohn Tiercelin Lord of Brosse: notwithstanding the Doctor departed nothing well contented. During this siege marvellous practises were entertained. The King travelled to conclude peace with the Duke of Burgundie, at the least to prolong the truce, to the end the English men should not passe the seas. The King of England on the other side labored to the uttermost of his power to perswade the Duke to depart from Nuz, and performe his promise by aiding him to make war in Fraunce, alleaging that the sommer was far spent. And the Lord Scalles a courteous Knight, nephew to the Constable of Fraunce, with divers others, was twise sent ambassador to the Duke to sollicite him thereunto: but he was obstinate. Whereby it manifestly appeered, that God had troubled his wits and understanding: for all his life time he had labored the English men to passe into Fraunce, and now when they were in a readines, and all things prepared for the wars as well in Britaine as elsewhere, he lay obstinately before a place impregnable. With the Emperor was a legate sent from the Pope, who rode daily betweene the two camps to treat of peace. The King of Denmarke came also thither, and travelled to pacifie this controversie, being lodged in a little towne hard by both the armies: so that the Duke might have departed to the English men with honorable conditions. Notwithstanding he would not, but excused himselfe to the King of England upon his honor, which he said should be foyled if he levied his siege, with divers such like slender excuses. Heere you must note, that these were not those English men that in the time of Duke Philip his father had made war so long in this Realme, but these were yong souldiers utterly unacquainted with our French affaires. Wherefore the Duke proceeded verie fondly if he meant to use their helpe: for he should the first sommer have bene

PHILIP DE COMMINES

continually with them, leading them from place to place, and instructing them what was to be done. CHAPTER II

While the Duke lay thus obstinately before Nuz, war arose against him on two or three sides: for the Duke of Lorraine, who hitherto had been in peace with him, sent to defie him before Nuz, by the Lord of Crans perswasion, who to further the Kings affaires allured the Duke of Lorraine thereunto, assuring him that it would turne greatly to his profit. Incontinent the said Duke of Lorraine put himselfe into the field, and spoiled all the Duchie of Luxemburg, and razed a place there called Pierre-forte, two leagues from Nancy. Further, by the Kings procurement and certaine of his servants, a league was made for ten yeeres betweene the Swissers and certaine townes upon the river of Rhene* (namely, Basill, Strasbourg, and others) which before had bene their enimies. Peace was also concluded betweene Duke Sigismond of Austrich and the said Swissers, the conditions whereof were, that Duke Sigismond should take againe the countie of Ferrette,† which he had engaged to the Duke of Burgundie for a 100000 florens. But this one article remained yet in variance betweene Duke Sigismond and them: namely, that the Swissers required passage through fower townes of the countie of Ferrette‡ at their pleasure: which controversie was referred to the Kings arbitrament, who pronounced sentence for the Swissers. Hereby you may perceive what enemies the King stirred up covertly against the Duke of Burgundie.

As the matter was concluded, so also was it executed: for in a faire moone shine night Peter Archambaut§ governor of the countie of Ferrette for the Duke of Burgundie, was taken prisoner, accompanied with eight hundred soldiers, who were all dismissed safe and sound save himselfe alone,

How the towne of Nuz was succoured by the Emperor and the Almaines against the Duke of Burgundie.

* These townes were Strasbourg, Sleestat, Basill, Colmar, etc.

† Ferrette, in Dutch Pfirt.

‡ The townes the Swissers desired passage through were Reinfeld, Loufenberg, Neustat, and Brissac.

§ Others call him Peter Hagenbach, but the variance ariseth because one nameth him by his surname, the other by his seigniory: for he was called Peter Archambaut of Hagenbach.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How the
towne of
Nuz was
succoured by
the Emperor
and the
Almaines,
etc.

whom they led to Basill* and there endited of divers extortions and outrages committed in the said countie of Ferrette, and in the ende strake off his head. Immediately after his death all the countie of Ferrette yeelded to Duke Sigismond, and the Swisssers began to make warre in Burgundie, and tooke Blasmond a towne being the Marshals of Burgundie, who was of the house of Neuf-chastell, and besieged the castell of Hericourt, belonging also to the said house of Neuf-chastel, whither the Burgundians went to levie the siege, but were discomfited,† and a great number slaine. The said Swisssers marvellously endamaged the countrie, and then returned home for that time.

CHAPTER III

How the King wan from the Duke of Burgundie the castell of Tronquoy, the townes of Montdidier, Roye, and Corbie, and how he sought to perswade the Emperor Frederick to seiz upon all that the said Duke held of the Empire.



ABOUT this time the truce ended between the King and the Duke, to the Kings great grieve, who gladly would have prolonged it, but seeing no remedy, he went and besieged a little castel called Tronquoy in the yeere 1475, in the very beginning of sommer, the pleasantest time of the yeere. The castell in short space was taken by assault. The next day the King sent me to parle with them that were within Montdidier, who yeelded

* Others write that he was beheaded at Brisac a towne neere to Basill.

† The Lord of Blasmond led this army, and in this battell the Burgundians lost 2000 men.—*Annal. Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

the town, and departed with bag and baggage. Thence I went the third day being accompanied with the Admiral of Fraunce bastard of Bourbon, to parle with them that were within Roie, who in like maner yeelded the place bicause they were utterly in despaire of succors, which sure if the Duke had been in the countrey they would not have done. Notwithstanding both these townes were burned contrarie to our promise. Thence the King departed, and laid his campe before Corbie which abode the siege. Goodly approaches were made to the towne, and the Kings artillerie bet it three daies: within it was the Lord of Contay* and divers others, who yeelded the place, and departed with bag and baggage: two daies after, this poore towne was also sacked and burned as the two former. Then the King thought to repaire home with his armie, trusting to perswade the Duke of Burgundy to make truce, considering the distresse he was in. But a certaine Lady whom I know well, yet will not name bicause she is stil living, writ him a letter, willing him to leade his armie to Arras, and into those parts: whereunto the King agreed, for she was a woman of honor. I commend hir not in thus doing: for she was in no respect bound to the King. The King sent thither the Lord Admirall bastard of Bourbon with a great band of men, which burned many townes in those quarters, and spoiled all the countrie betweene Abbeville and Arras: whereupon the citizens of Arras, who were puffed up with pride bicause of their long prosperity, compelled the garrison of the towne to issue foorth. But being too weake to encounter with the Kings forces they were put to flight, and pursued so speedily that many of them were slaine and taken, togither with all their captaines, namely, Master James of Saint Paule† the Constables brother, the Lord of Contay, the Lord of Carency, and divers others: some of the which were neere kinsmen to the Lady hir selfe that had caused this enterprise, so that she received great dammage by the overthrowe: but the King for hir sake repaired all in time.

CHAPTER III

How the King
wan from the
Duke of Bur-
gundie the
castell of
Tronquoy,
etc.

* This Contay is successor to him mentioned in the wars against the Liegeois.

† This James is named in other histories Lord of Richebourg.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the King
wan from the
Duke of Bur-
gundie the
castell of
Tronquoy,
etc.

The King sent to the Emperor (as you have heard) Iohn Tiercelin Lord of Brosse, partly to sollicite him not to make peace with the Duke of Burgundie, and partly to make his excuse for not sending his forces according to his promise: and further, to assure him, that he would shortly send them, and would also continue to spoile and endamage the Dukes dominions, as well in the marches of Burgundie,* as also in Picardie. Lastly he made him a new ouerture, which was, that they should sweare each to other, not to make peace the one without the other, and that the Emperor should seaze into his hands all the seigniories that the Duke held, and ought to hold of the Empire, and proclaime them forfeited to him, and he would do the like with all those that were held of the crowne of Fraunce, namely Flaunders, Artois, Burgundie and the rest. The Emperor though all his life time he had made small shew of any valor, yet was he wise and of great experience, bicause of his ancient yeeres. Further, these practises betwene us and him had continued so long that he waxed weary of the wars, notwithstanding that they cost him never a grote. For all the Princes of Almaine lay there upon their owne charge, as their maner is when the war concerneth the state of the empire. The Emperor answered the Kings ambassadors after this sort: There was sometime neere to a certaine city in Germany, a great Beare that much endamaged the countrie, three good fellows of the which citie being taverne haunters, came to a taverne where they were indebted, desiring their host yet once more to give them credit, promising him within two daies payment of the whole debt: for they would take this Beare that did so much harme in the countrey, whose skin was worth a great sum of money, besides the presents that good folkes would give them, whereunto their host agreed: and when they had dined, foorth they went toward this beasts cave, neere to the which when they approched, they met with the Beare unlooked for, and being stricken with sudden feare fled, one got up into a tree, the other fled towards the towne,

* For in the marches of Burgundy, the Duke of Bourbon had given the Burgundians a great overthrow, as our author in the next chapter maketh mention.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

but the third the Beare tooke and overthrew, and foiled under hir feete, holding hir mussell hard to his eare. The poore soule lay flat upon the ground, as though he had been dead. Now you shall understand that the nature of a Beare is such, that whatsoever she holdeth in hir clawes man or beast, so soon as she seeth it leave stirring, she foorthwith forsaketh it, supposing it to be dead, as also this Beare left this poore fellow, not doing him any great harme, and returned to hir den. Then he seeing the danger past, arose and went towards the towne. But his fellow that stood in the tree having beheld all this pageant, came downe and ran crying after him to stay: and when he had overtaken him, desired him to tell him faithfully what counsell the Beare gave him in his eare, whereto she held hir mussell so long: whereunto his fellow answered, that she bad him never to sell the Beares skin till the Beare were slaine. And with this fable paid the Emperor our King, not giving his ambassadors any further answere, as though he should have said, Come hither according to your promise, and let us take this Duke if we can, and then make partition of his goods.

CHAPTER III

How the King
wan from the
Duke of Bur-
gundie the
castell of
Tronquoy,
etc.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

How the Constable began to be had in suspicion
again, as well of the King as of the
Duke of Burgundy.



YOU have heard how Master Iames of Saint Paule and others were taken prisoners before Arras. Their captivitie was to the Constables great greefe: for the said Master Iames was a loving and kinde brother to him. But this was not the onely misfortune that fell upon him: for at this very instant was also taken the Earle of Roussy his sonne, governor of Burgundie for the Duke,* and likewise his wife died, which was a vertuous Lady, and sister to the Queene of Fraunce, so that for hir sake he had found great friendship and favor in our court. The practise begun against him still continued, which as you have heard was almost concluded at the assembly held thereabout at Bouvines: after the which, the Constable never thought himselfe in assurance, but mistrusted both the Princes, especially the King, who seemed to repent the revoking of his letters there sealed. Further, the Earle of Dampmartin and others whom the Constable feared as his enemies, lay with his men of armes neere to Saint

* This overthrow the Duke of Bourbon gave the Burgundians, neere to a place called Grey or Gy, not far from Chausteauguion, and in the battell was slain the Lord of Conches, others say but taken, and there were taken prisoners the Earle of Roussy, being governor of Burgundy, the Marshall of Burgundie, the Earle of Ioiny, the Earle of Saint Martins sonne, Monseur de L'Isle, Monseur de Longey or Longny, the bailife of Ampois, and the bailife of Auxerre. This battell was fought on Tuesday the 20 of Iune 1475, and in it two hundred men of armes Lombards were slaine,—Meyer. About this time also the Prince of Orenge was taken prisoner, and by meanes thereof revolted from the D. to the King.—*Annal. Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Quintins: wherefore he held himselfe within the towne, and put into it three hundred footemen of his owne tenants, having but small affiance in his men of arms. He lived in great trouble, for the King had often sent to him to sollicite him to come forth to do him service in the marches of Henault, and to besiege Avenes at the same time that the Admirall with his band went to burne the countrey of Artois as you have heard, which commandement he obeyed but with great feare: for after he had lien a certaine space before the said towne of Avenes with a continuall garde about his person, he retired into his owne places, and sent the King word by one of his servants (who did his message to me by the Kings commandement) that he had raised his siege, because he was certainly enformed, that there were two in the army purposely hired by the King to kill him: whereof also he told so many apparant tokens, that he seemed indeed to have some notice thereof, so far forth that one of them was suspected to have disclosed somewhat to him, that he ought to have kept secret: but I will name no man, neither speake further heereof. The Constable sent often to the Duke of Burgundies campe, I suppose to perswade him to relinquish his foolish enterprise, advertising the King also usually at his mens returne of some such newes as he thought would like him well, and withall what was the cause of his sending thither, hoping by this means to entertaine him with faire words. Somtime also he gave him to understand, that the Dukes affaires had good proceeding, thereby to put him in feare. Further, doubting greatly that the King would invade him, he desired the Duke to send unto him his brother Master Iames of Saint Paul (being at Nuz before he was taken prisoner) and the Lord of Fiennes, with certaine others of his kinsmen, promising to put them and their bands into Saint Quintins (but without the Saint Andrews crosse*) and to keepe the towne for the Duke, and restore it him shortly after: for performance also wherof he offered to

CHAPTER IV

How the Constable began to be had in suspicion againe, as well of the King as of the Duke of Burgundy.

* The Saint Andrewes crosse is the Burgundians cognisance, and if they had entred with this crosse upon their cotes, the Constable could have no longer temporised with the K. of France, but should forthwith have beene proclaimed traitor.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

How the
Constable
began to be
had in sus-
pition againe,
as well of the
King as of the
Duke of
Burgundy.

give him his faith in writing. The Duke did as he required, and when the said Master Iames, the Lord of Fiennes, and the rest of the Constables kinsemen were twise come within a league or two of the towne ready to enter, the Constable thinking the storme past, altered his minde, and sent a countermaunde. This did he thrise: so desirous was he still to live in dissimulation, and swim as it were between two streams, fearing marvellously both these Princes. Of this matter I have beene enformed by divers, but especially by Master Iames of Saint Paul himselfe, who thus reported the circumstance thereof to the King, when he was brought prisoner before him, where no man was present but my selfe alone. The said Master Iames answered frankly and without dissimulation to all the Kings demands, whereby he wan greatly his favor. First, the King asked him how many men he had with him to enter the towne: whereunto he answered that the last time he had three thousand. Then the King inquired further, if he had entred and had beene Master of the towne, whether he would have held it for the King or the Constable. Whereunto he likewise answered, that the two first times he came but to comfort his brother, but the last (seeing his dissimulation to his Master and him) if he had entred and had beene Master of the towne, he would have held it for his Master, not offering his brother any outrage, nor doing any thing to his prejudice, save onely that he would not have departed the town at his commandement. Soone after, the King delivered the said Iames of Saint Paul out of prison, and gave him charge of a goodly company of men of armes, and used his service till his death: of which his preferment his wise answeres were the onely cause.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Burgundy levied his siege
before Nuz by composition, and how the
King of England his confederate sent
to defie King Lewis.



HAVE discoursed of divers affaires since I began with the siege of Nuz, bicause they all hapned in that time, for the siege indured a whole yeere. There were two causes especially that mooved the Duke to levy his siege: one the warre the King made in Picardy, where he had burned two proper townes, and destroyed a goodly champaine countrey in Artois and Ponthieu. The other, the mighty armie the King of England levied at his sute and solicitation: whom till now he could never perswade to passe into Fraunce, notwithstanding that he had labored him thereunto all the daies of his life. The said King of England and all his nobles were marvellously discontented with the Dukes delaies, and besides intreaties used threatnings, and not without cause, considering the great charges they had sustained, and all to no purpose, the sommer being now almost spent. The Duke gloried much that this Dutch army being so great that the like hath not beene seene in our age nor many yeeres before: and in the which were so many Princes, Prelates, and free cities joyned together, was not able to raise his siege.* But this glorie cost him full

* Melancthon writeth, that the Emperer would not hazard a battell neither with Matthias King of Hungarie, nor Duke Charles: *Quia sibi sciebat, Martem in genesi infelicitur positum esse.* But Berlandus saith, that the Duke fought with the Emperer. Meyer saith, that in a skirmish the Duke overthrew the Marquesse Albert of Brandenbourg, and slue 120 of his men, and tooke divers prisoners: and another time overthrew the Bishop of Munster, slue fiftie, tooke sixteene, and

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER V

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundy levied
his siege
before Nuz,
and how the
King of Eng-
land sent to
defie King
Lewis.

deere: for he that hath the profit of the war, reapeth also the honour thereof. Notwithstanding the Legate above mentioned (who rode continually betwene the two camps) made peace in the ende betwene the Emperor and the Duke: * and the towne of Nuz was put into the said Legats hands to do therewith according to the determination of the Sea Apostolike. Now consider in how great distresse the Duke of Burgundy was, being on the one side vexed with war by the King, and threatned on the other by the King of England his friend, so that notwithstanding he knew the towne of Nuz to be brought to such extremitie, that within lesse than fiftene daies famine would have constrained them to yeeld to his mercie, yea within ten daies (as one of the captaines within the towne, who afterward served the King advertised me :) yet for the reasons above alleaged, he was forced to leavie his siege † in the yeere 1475.

Let us now returne to the K. of England, who led his army to Dover, there to embarke to crosse the seas to Calais. The force that passed with him at this present was the greatest that ever came into France, all of them being on horseback in very good order and well armed. All the nobles of the realme were there, a few excepted: they were 1500 men of armes very well mounted, and the most of them barded, and richly trapped after the maner of our wars, and well accompanied with horsemen of their retinue. They were at the least 15000 archers all mounted, and a great number of footemen and others, as well to pitch their tents, (whereof they were well furnished) as also to attende upon their artillerie and inclose their campe, and in all their army they had not one Page: besides these there were three

chased the Bishop hard to the Emperors campe: and likewise another time the Bishops of Mentz, Treves, Munster, and Marquesse Albert, and slue a great number of their men. And last of all, because the Emperor and the Duke contended whether of them should first depart from before Nuz, their footmen joined, and the Duke slue 1500.

* Peace was concluded betwene the Emperor and the Duke 31 Maii 1475.

† The Emperor departed from Nuz 29 Iunii, leaving the Duke there, who would not levie his siege before the Emperors departure because of his honor, but soone after departed also the Duke. — Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

thousand Englishmen appointed to land in Britaine. This I have written before, but rehearse it heere againe, to the end you may perceiue that God was purposed to trouble the Duke of Burgundies wits and preserve this realme which he hath ever, more favored than any other: otherwise is it to be thought that the Duke would so obstinately have lien before Nuz, a place so strong and so well defended, seeing all his life time till now he could never finde the English men disposed to invade the realme of France, and knew them to be utterly unacquainted with our French wars till they be trained therein: for if he would have done any good with them, he should never have left them the first sommer, but helped them and taught them to order and leade their battels after the maner of our wars: for there is no nation so ignorant and rude as the English men at their first landing in Fraunce, but in very short space they becom excellent good soldiers, hardie and wise. But the Duke did cleane contrarie: for besides these other his oversights, he made them lose the sommer: and as touching him selfe, his armie was so broken, so poore, and in so evill order, that he durst not present it before them: for he lost before Nuz fower thousand soldiers taking pay: some of the which were the best men he had.* Thus you see how God disposed him in all points to do contrarie both to that his affaires required, and also to the arte of war, wherein himselfe had beene exercised by the space of ten yeeres more than any man living.

When King Edward came to Dover, the Duke of Burgundy to further his passage sent five hundred botes of Holland and Zealand called Scuts, which are flat and low, built very commodiously for transporting of horses. But notwithstanding all this helpe they had from the Duke, and all the King of England could command himselfe, he was above three weekes in passing betweene Callice and Dover, yet are they but seven leagues distant: whereby you may per-

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Burgundy levied his siege before Nuz, and how the King of England sent to defie King Lewis.

* The Duke lost before Nuz fiteene thousand men,—*Annal. Burgund.*; wherefore Meyer hath small reason to reprove our author for saying, that the Dukes armie was in so poore estate that he durst not let the English men see it.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER V

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundy levied
his siege
before Nuz,
and how the
King of Eng-
land sent to
defie King
Lewis.

ceive with how great difficultie a King of England invadeth Fraunce. And if the King our Master had bene as well acquainted with the wars by sea as by land: King Edward had never passed over, at the least not that sommer. But the King understood them not, and those that had charge of them much lesse. The King of England as I have said, was three weekes in passing: one ship of Eu tooke two or three of his small passengers.

Before King Edward embarked, he sent from Dover to the King one herault alone called Garter a Norman borne,* who brought a letter of defiance from the King of England in very good language, and so excellently well penned, that I am verily perswaded it was never of English mans dooing. The contents of the letter were, that the King should yeeld unto him the realme of Fraunce being his inheritance, to the end he might restore the cleargie and nobilitie to their ancient libertie, ease them of the great charges they sustained, and deliver them from the miseries they lived in: which if he refused to do, he protested what great mischeefes should insue thereof, in maner and forme as in such cases is accustomed. The King read the letter softly to himselfe, and afterward all alone withdrew himselfe into a wardrob, and commanded the herault to be brought to his presence, to whom he made this answer: First, that he knew well the King of England was not passed the seas of his owne disposition, but by the perswasion of the Duke of Burgundie and the commonaltie of England: secondarily, that the sommer was now almost spent, and that the Duke of Burgundy returned from Nuz, as a man discomfited and utterly unfurnished of al things: thirdly, as touching the Constable he knew wel (he said) that he had intelligence with the King of England, because he had married his neece,† but that he

* Hall in his Chronicle reprooveth our author for reporting this Garter to be a Norman, saying that never Norman was King of heraults: which notwithstanding I know not why we should beleve: for him selfe confesseth, that King Edward the fourth made a Gascoine, namely Vaucher, Deputie of Calice: a much higher and more dangerous office to be in a strangers hand than this.

† How the Queene of England was the Constables neece, the pedigree in the end of this booke will declare.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

would deceive the King his Master, as he had deceived him : notwithstanding all the great benefites he had received of him, which he there rehearsed, adding thereunto, that the saide Constable meant to live in continuall dissimulation and entertaine every man to make his profite of him : last of all, he alleaged to the herault divers other reasons to perswade the King his Master to peace, and gave him with his owne hands three hundred crownes, promising him a thousand more if peace were concluded : further, openly he gave him for a present a goodly peece of crimosin velvet of thirty ells.

CHAPTER
V

How the Duke of Burgundy levied his siege before Nuz, and how the King of England sent to defie King Lewis.

The herault answered, that he would travell the best he could for peace, and thought the King his Master would easily be woon thereunto, but that no mention must be made thereof till he were on this side the sea : and then he willed the King our Master to send a herault to the English campe, to demand a safe conduct for certaine ambassadors that he would send to the King of England, and to addresse his letters to the Lord Howard or the Lord Stanley, and to himselfe also to helpe to convey his herault.

A great number there were without in the hall while the King talked with the herault, very desirous to heare the Kings answer, and to see his countenance at his comming forth. When he had made an end, he called me to him, bidding me continually to entertaine the herault, till some were appointed to beare him companie, to the end no man might commune with him : and further to give him a peece of crimosin velvet of thirtie ells, which I did accordingly. Then the King began to talke with divers, rehearsing unto them the contents of these letters of defiance : and seven or eight he called apart causing the said letters to be read, and shewing a good and assured countenance void of all feare : for he was glad of the comfort the herault had put in him.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters of credit to the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, which after were in part cause of his death.



MUST yet speake a word or two more heere of the Constable, who was not a little troubled, as well for the lewd touch he had plaid the Duke of Burgundy about the restitution of Saint Quintins, as also because he saw himselfe utterly disfavoured of the King, so far forth that his principall servants, namely the Lords of Genly and Mouy had already relinquished him, and were in the Kings service: notwithstanding the said de Mouy resorted still to him sometime. Further, the King pressed the Constable earnestly to come to him, offering to make him such recompence for the countie of Guise as he required, and the King had often promised him. The Constable was willing to go, so that the King would sweare by the crosse of S. Lou of Angiers to do him no harme, nor consent that any other should: alleaging that he might as well sweare thereby now as in times past he did to the Lord of Lescut: whereunto the King answered, that he would never give that oath to any man,* but any other he would not refuse to sweare. You may easily gesse how much both the King and the Constable were troubled: for that no day escaped for a certain space but one or other passed betweene them about this oath. Wherefore if we will weigh our estate, mans life is verie miserie: for we toile and travel our selves to shorten

* The King would not sweare by the crosse of Saint Lou of Angiers, because who so touched that crosse and forswore himselfe, died miserably within a yeere after.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

our owne daies, saying and writing a number of things cleane contrary to our thought. To conclude, if these two were troubled on the one side, I warrant you the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy were no lesse troubled on the other.

At one time in a manner, both the King of England landed at Calais* and the Duke of Burgundie departed from before Nuz, who in great haste rode straight to Calais to the said King with a verie small traine: for he had sent his armie in such poore estate, as you have heard, to spoile the countrie of Barrois and Lorraine, to the end they might there make merrie and refresh themselves: which he did, because the Duke of Lorraine had begun war upon him, and defied him before Nuz. But this sending of his forces into Lorraine, among divers other his oversights in his actions with the English men was not the lest: for they thought at their landing to have found him with 2500 men of armes well appointed, and great force of other horsemen and foote-men (for so he had promised, thereby to allure them to passe the seas :) and further, that he would have made warre in Fraunce three moneths before their arrivall, to the end they might finde the King the wearier and the weaker: but God as you have heard, disposed otherwise of this matter. The King of England departed from Calais in companie of the Duke of Burgundie, and passed through Boloine, and from thence to Peronne, where the Duke gave the English men but cold entertainment: for he caused the gates to be straightly garded, and would suffer but few to enter, so that the greatest part of them lodged in the fields, as they might well doe: for they were well provided of all things necessarie for that purpose.

After they were come to Peronne, the Constable sent to the Duke of Burgundy one of his servants called Lewis of Creville, by whom he excused himselfe: for the withholding of Saint Quintins, alleaging that if he had restored it, he could have stood him in no stead in the Realme of Fraunce: for he should utterly have lost his credit and intelligence there, but now seeing the King of England was come over

CHAPTER VI

Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters to the king of England and the Duke of Burgundy.

* The King of England landed at Calice the 4 of Iuly.—Meyer.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters to the king of England and the Duke of Burgundy.

in person, he promised to do hereafter all that the Duke should command him, whereof the better to assure him, he sent him a letter of credit directed to the King of England, but referring the matter of credit to the declaration of the Duke. Further, he gave the Duke his faith in writing, to serve and succour him, his friends and confederates, as well the King of England as others, against all men none excepted. The Duke delivered the King of England his letter, and withall the matter of credit, adding somewhat thereto of his own devise: for he assured the King that the Constable would deliver into his hands both Saint Quintins and all his other places: which the King easily beleaved, partly because he had married the Constables neece, and partly because he saw him in so great feare of the King our Master, that he thought he durst not faile of his promise made to the Duke and him, and the Duke beleaved it also. But the Constable meant nothing lesse, for the feare he stood in of the King our Master was not so great that it could force him so far. But he used still his woonted dissimulation, hoping by these faire messages to content them, and shew them so apparant reasons of his dooings, that they would not as yet constraine him to declare himselfe. Now you shall understand that King Edward and his men were nothing acquainted with our affaires, but went bluntly to worke, so that they could not as yet smell out the cunning used heere on this side the sea: for naturally the English men that never travelled abroad are very colerick, as are also al people of cold countries.* The Realme of Fraunce as you see is situate betweene both: for it is invironed with Italy, Spaine and Catalonia towards the East,† and with England, Flaunders and Holland towards the west,‡ and all along the countrey of Champaigne, Almaine bordereth upon it: so that our countrey taketh part both of heat and cold, wherefore the French are of two complexions: but in mine

* The reason is, *Propter crassos humores quibus abundant eorum corpora, qui vehementiores excitant affectus, et innatam caloris vim quæ etiam augetur per antiperistasin.*

† By the east he meaneth all seas to the great Ocean.

‡ By the west he meaneth all west and north seas.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

opinion I never saw countrey in my life better seated than the Realme of Fraunce.

CHAPTER
VI

The King of England who rejoiced marvellously at this message sent by the Constable (although happily he had received some such promise before, but not so large) departed from Peronne with the Duke of Burgundy (who had no force there, for his armie was in Barrois and Lorraine) towards Saint Quintins, whereunto when they approached, a great band of Englishmen ran before, thinking (as I heard it reported a few daies after) that the bels should have rung at their comming, and that the citizens would have received them with crosse and holy water. But when they drew neere the towne, the artillery shot, and the soldiers issued foorth to the skirmish, both on horsebacke and foote, so that two or three English men were slaine, and some taken. Further, it rained terribly, and in this estate returned they in great rage to their campe, murmuring against the Constable and calling him traitor.

Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters to the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy.

The next morning the Duke of Burgundy would have taken his leave of the King of England to depart to his army into Barrois, promising to do marvels in his favor. But the English men who naturally are suspicious, and were strangers in these countries, marvelled much at his so sudden departure, (seeing they had passed the seas at his request) and were greatly discontented therewith, neither would they beleieve that his army was in a readines. Besides that, the Duke could by no meanes repaire the Constables former credit with them: notwithstanding that

he affirmed all his doings to be to a good end. The

winter also which drew neere dismaied them, so

that they seemed by their words desirous
rather of peace than war.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

How the King clothed a poore servant in a cote armor with a scutchin, and sent him to speake with the King of England in his Campe, where he received a very good answer.



IN the meane time, even at the very instant that the D. of Burgundie was taking his leave, the English men tooke prisoner a gentlemans servant of the Kings house named Iames of Grasse, whom forthwith they led to the King of England and the Duke being together, and from them into a tent: where when they had examined him, the Duke tooke his leave to go into Brabant, and from thence to Mazieres, where part of his army lay. The King of England commanded the said servant to be dismissed, because he was their first prisoner. And at his departure the Lord Howard and the Lord Stanley gave him a noble, saying: Do our humble commendations to the K. your Master if you can come to his presence. The fellow came in great haste to the King being at Compiegne with these newes, who foorthwith began to suspect him as a spie, because Gilbert of Grasse his Masters brother, was then very well entertained in the Duke of Britanes court, wherefore he was committed to warde, and straightly kept that night. Notwithstanding the King commanded divers to commune with him, by whose report his tale seemed voide of all suspicion and feare. Wherefore they desired the King to vouchsafe to heare him, and according to their request the next morning himselfe spake with him, and when he had heard him, his irons were knocked off, but he remained still in warde. Then the King went to diner debating with himselfe whether he should send to the English men or not. And before he sat downe talked three

PHILIP DE COMMINES

or fower words thereof with me. For you know (my Lord of Vienna) that oftentimes he communed very familiarly with those that were neere about him, as I was then, and others after, and loved to talke in a mans eare: he called then to mind the herault of Englands advise, which was, that he should not faile to send to the King of England so soone as he was landed, to demaund a safe conduct for certaine ambassadors that he would send to him: and further, to addresse his herault to the above named Lord Howard and the Lord Stanley. After the King was set to diner, and had mused a while, as you know his maner was (which seemed strange to those that knew him not: for unlesse a man had been wel acquainted with his behavior, he would have judged him of no great wisdom, notwithstanding that his dooings sufficiently declared the contrarie) he bad me in mine eare to arise and dine in my chamber, and send for a certaine servant of the Lord of Halles, son to Merichon of Rochell, and to commune with him, to know whether he durst adventure to go to the K. of Englands campe in a heraults cote: which his commandement I executed forthwith, marvelling much when I saw the said servant: for he seemed to me neither of personage nor behavior fit for such an enterprise: notwithstanding he had a good wit and a very pleasant toong, as I afterward perceived: the King had never spoken with him before but once. The said servant was marvellously astonished with my message, and fell down before me on his knees, as one accounting himselfe a dead man, but I comforted and confirmed him the best I could, promising him an office in the Ile of Ré, and a summe of money, and to chere him the better, told him that this proceeded of the English men themselves. Then I made him dine with me, none being present but we two, and one of my servants, and by little and little perswaded him to do as he was required. After I had been at diner a while, the King sent for me, and I told him how I had wrought with this good fellow, naming divers others, who in mine opinion seemed fitter for this purpose than he, but the King would none but him. Wherefore he came and talked with him himselfe, and confirmed him more with one

CHAPTER VII

How the King clothed a poore servant in a cote armor with a scutchin, and sent him to speake with the King of England in his Campe.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

How the King
clothed a
poore servant
in a cote
armor with
a scutchin,
and sent him
to speake with
the King of
England in
his Campe.

word, than I had with an hundred. None entred into the chamber with the King save onely the Lord of Villiers, then Master of the Horse, and now bailife of Caen. When the King perceived this good fellow to be well perswaded to go: he sent the said Master of the horse to fetch a trumpet banner, thereof to make this counterfet herault a cote armour: for the King because he was not pompous as other Princes are, had neither herault nor trumpeter with him. Thus the Master of the Horse and one of my men made his cote armor as well as they could: which being finished, the said Master of the Horse fetched a scutchin of a little herault of the Lord Admirals called Pleinchemin, which was fastened to our counterfet herault: his bootes also and his cloke were brought privily to him, and likewise his horse: whereupon he mounted no man understanding any thing of his journey. Further, a goodly budget was tied to his saddlebowe, into the which he put his cote armor. Thus being well instructed what to say, he rode straight to the English campe: where when he arrived with his cote armour on his backe, he was staied incontinent, and brought to the King of Englands pavilion. Where being demaunded the cause of his coming, he said that he came from the King to speake with the King of England, and had commandement to addresse himselfe to the Lord Howard and the Lord Stanley, whereupon they led him into a tent to diner, and made him goode cheere. After the King of England was risen from the table (for he was at diner when the herault arrived) the said herault was brought before him, and the King gave him audience. His message was chiefly grounded upon the great desire the King had of long time to be in perfect amitie with the King of England, to the ende both the realmes might live together in peace and quietnes: adding further, that since the time he was first crowned King of Fraunce, he never had attempted any thing against the King of England or his Realme:* secondarily, he excused himselfe for receiving in times past the Earle of Warwicke into his dominions, saying that he did it onely against the

* King Lewis had forgotten that before this time he had attempted to restore Queene Margaret daughter to King Rene.—*Annal. Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Duke of Burgundie and not against him. Further, he declared unto him that the said Duke of Burgundy had for none other cause called him into Fraunce, but that by the occasion of his coming he might conclude a better peace for himselfe with the King. And if happily any others were furtherers thereof, it was onely to amende the broken state of their owne affaires, and for their owne private commodity: but as touching the King of Englands good successe, they were altogether carelesse thereof: he put him also in minde of the time of the yeere, alleaging that winter approached, and likewise of the great charges he sustained: lastly he said, that notwithstanding a great number in England, as well gentlemen as merchants desired war with France: yet if the King of England would incline to peace, the King for his part would condescend to such conditions, as he doubted not but he and his realme would allow of: lastly, to the ende he might the better be informed of all these matters, he said: that if the King of England would grant a safe conduct for an hundred horse, the King his Master would send ambassadors to him well informed of their Masters pleasure, or if the said King of England should like better to assigne the place of treatie in some village betweene both the armies, and to send Commissioners thither on both sides, the King his Master would willingly agree thereunto: and send the like safe conduct for his part.

The King of England and part of his nobles liked these ouvertures very well, and granted our herault as large a safe conduct as he demanded, and gave him fower nobles of gold* in reward. Further, an English herault was sent backe with him to the King, to bring the like safe conduct from him as the King of England had granted. And the next morning in a village neere to Amiens the Commissioners of both Princes met, being these: for the King, the bastard of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce, the Lord of Saint Pierre, and the Bishop of Eureux called Heberge: and for the King of England the Lord Howard, one called Chalenger,† and a

CHAPTER VII

How the King clothed a poore servant in a cote armor with a scutchin, and sent him to speake with the King of England in his Campe.

* Hall reporteth, that the French herault had given him a gilt cup and an hundred angels.

† This Chalanger our chronicles name Sentleger.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

How the King
clothed a
poore servant
in a cote
armor with
a scutelin,
and sent him
to speake with
the King of
England in
his Campe.

Doctor named Morton, at this present Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury.

Some may thinke peradventure that the King humbled himselfe too much, but those that be wise will easily perceive by that I have above rehearsed, in how great danger the realme stood, had not God put to his helping hand, as well in causing the King to take this wise course, as also by troubling the Duke of Burgundies wits, who committed so many errors as you have heard in this action, and lost now through his owne follie that which so long he had wished for and desired. Many secret practises lay hidden at that time among our selves, as well in Britaine as elsewhere, which would soone have broken foorth into great inconveniences, had not this peace been speedily concluded. Wherefore

I assure my selfe by that I have seen in my time,
that God had then, and yet hath a speciall
regard of this realme.

CHAPTER VIII

How truce for nine yeeres was treated of betweene the Kings of Fraunce and England, notwithstanding all the lets and impediments that the Constable and the Duke of Burgundie made.



THE Commissioners of both the Princes met (as you have heard) the next day after our heraults returne, for we lay within fower leagues or lesse together. The said herault was well cheered, and had his office in the Ile of Ré where he was borne, and the sum of money that was promised him. Many conditions of peace were treated of betweene our Commissioners. The English men after their woonted maner, first demanded the Crowne, at the least Normandie and Guienne, but they were no more

PHILIP DE COMMINES

earnestly demanded than stoutly denied. Notwithstanding even at this first meeting the treatie was brought to a reasonable point: for both the parties desired peace: whereupon our ambassadors returned to the King, and the others to their campe. The King heard the English mens demands and last resolutions, which were these: That he should pay to the King of England presently before his departure out of Fraunce 72000 crownes.* That the King that now is then Daulphin should marrie King Edwards eldest daughter at this day Queene of England, and that she should have the Duchy of Guienne for her maintenance, or 50000 crownes yeerely to be paid in the Tower of London by the space of nine yeeres: which terme expired: the King that now is and his wife should peaceably enjoy the revenues of the whole Duchie of Guienne, and then the King our Master to be cleerely discharged of all payments to the King of England. Divers other trifling articles there were, touching matter of enter-course, which I overpasse. Lastly, this truce was to endure nine yeeres betweene the two realmes: all the confederates of both parties being comprehended therein, and namely on the King of Englands behalfe, the Dukes of Burgundie and Britaine if themselves would. Further, the King of England made a marvellous strange offer, which was, to name in writing certaine noble men, who he said were traitors to the King and his crowne. The King rejoiced marvellously at the report that his Commissioners made at their returne, and sat in counsell about these overtures of peace: where among others my selfe was present. Some supposed all this treatie to bee meere deceit and cunning of the English men, but the King was of a contrarie opinion: for he alleaged first the time of the yeere, saying, that winter now approached, and that they had not one place to lodge in: secondarily, he declared the evill turnes the Duke of Burgundy had done

CHAPTER VIII

How truce for
nine yeeres
was treated
of betweene
the Kings of
Fraunce and
England.

* Meyer saith thus: *Quinquaginta millia aureorum pro tributo Aquitanie Septuaginta quinque millia præterea soluta præ manibus Edwardo a Gallorum Rege.* *Anal. Aqu.* say 65000, our chronicles and Gaguin 75000. But the truce saith Gaguin was concluded but for seven yeeres. *Introduction de la Marche* saith 60000 crownes the yeerely tribut, but in the second booke ca. 1. the same author saith but 36000.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How truce for
nine yeeres
was treated
of betweene
the Kings of
Fraunce and
England.

them, who was also departed from them. And as touching the Constable he did in maner assure himselfe, that he would put no places into their hands, because he sent howerly to him to entertaine him, to asswage his malice, and to keepe him from doing harme: lastly, he alleaged the King of Englands disposition, whom he knew well to be a Prince wholly given to his pleasures and delights. Wherefore he seemed to discourse wiselier than any man of the company, and better to understand than any other the matters there debated. He concluded therefore with all speed to pay this summe of money, and devised order how to levie it, and in the ende commanded that everie man should lend a portion the sooner to furnish it: for the King cared not what he did to rid the King of England out of his Realme, save onely that he would in no wise consent to put any places into the English mens hands: for rather then he would suffer that, he was fully determined to hazard all.

The Constable who began to smell these practises, was stricken with sudden feare, because he had offended all the three Princes. Further, he doubted much the treatie almost concluded against him at Bouvines. Wherefore he sent often to the King, and even at this present arrived at the Court one of his gentlemen named Lewis of Creuille, with one of his Secretaries called Iohn Richer who are both yet living. They delivered their message to the Lord of Bouchage and me before they spake with the King, as his pleasure was they should. The newes they brought liked the King well, because he meant to use them to good purpose as you shall heare. The Lord of Contay (servant to the Duke of Burgundie) lately taken prisoner before Arras as you have heard, went to and fro upon his word betweene the Duke and the King: and the King had promised to release him his raunsome, and to give him a great summe of money if he could perswade his Master to peace. By chance he returned to the King the selvesame day that these two servants of the Constables arrived. Wherefore the King made him and me to stand in a great old presse in his chamber, to the end he might heare and

PHILIP DE COMMINES

make report to his Master, of the language the Constable and his servants used of him. We being there placed, the King sate downe on a forme hard by the presse, to the end we might the better heare Lewis of Creuilles and his companions message. Who began thus, that of late being by their Masters commandement with the Duke of Burgundie, to perswade him to depart from the English mens friendship: they found him in such a rage against the King of England, that they had almost wooon him not onely to abandon the English men, but also to helpe to spoile and destroy them in their retorne home. And in uttering these words (the better to please the King) the said Lewis of Creuille counterfetting the Duke of Burgundies gesture by stamping upon the ground and swearing S. George, rehearsed many reprochfull speeches that (as they said) the Duke used of the King of England. To be short, they uttered as many scofs and mocks of the Duke as was possible. The King made great sport with this matter, and bad the said Lewis of Creuille, to speake alowd, faining himselfe to be growen somewhat deafe, and to tell him this tale againe: which the other making no bones thereat, did with a good will.

The said Contay (who stood with me in the presse) was marvellously astonished at this talke, neither would have beleewed it unlesse himselfe had heard it. The Constables mens conclusion was this. They counselled the King, for avoiding of all these great dangers he sawe hang over his head, to conclude a truce (for the which the said Constable offered to travell to the uttermost of his power :) and to put into the English mens hands (the better to content them) some small towne or two to lodge them in this winter, saying, that were they never so bad, yet the English men would holde themselves contented with them. And it seemed by their talke, though they named no place, that they meant Eu and Saint Valery. By this meanes the Constable trusted to recover the King of Englands favor, which he had lost bicause of the refusall made him of his places. But the King who thought it sufficient to have plaied his part by bringing the Lord of Contay to heare what language the Constable and his men used of the Duke his Master, gave them no

CHAPTER VIII

How truce for
nine yeeres
was treated
of betweene
the Kings of
Fraunce and
England.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How truce for
nine yeeres
was treated
of betweene
the Kings of
Fraunce and
England.

evill answer, but said that he would send to his brother,* to advertise him of such newes as he knew, and so licenced them to depart. Notwithstanding, one of them before his departure sware to reveale unto him whatsoever he could learne touching him or his estate. The King had much adoo to dissemble any longer when he heard them counsell him to put townes into the English mens hands. Notwithstanding he gave them no such answer, whereby they might gather their counsell to be taken in evill part (bicause he feared, that would the more increase the Constables malice:) but sent one backe with them to their Master: it was not far betweene him and us, for a man might go and come in very short space. When the others were departed, the Lord of Contay and I came out of the presse: the King laughed marvellously, and was very mery with this pageant. But the said Contay was so far out of patience to heare such petit companions thus flout and scoffe his Master (especially the Constable pretending so great friendship to his Master, and treating with him of so many matters) that he thought every hower ten till he were on horsebacke to advertise the Duke his Master thereof. Wherefore he was dispatched with all speede, and wrote his instructions himselfe: he caried also with him a letter of credit, written with the Kings owne hand, and so departed.

The peace with the English men was already concluded as above is mentioned, and all these practises were entertained in one instant. The Kings Commissioners had made report of their negotiations as you have heard, and the King of Englands were also returned to him. Further it was concluded and agreed on both sides by the ambassadors that passed between them, that the two Princes should meete together, and after they had seene one another and sworne the treatie, the King of England should returne home into his countrey, having first received the sum above mentioned of 72000 crownes, and leaving in hostage behinde him, till he were passed the seas, the Lord Howard,

* The King calleth the Constable brother, bicause the King and he had married two sisters, as our author maketh mention in this booke cap. 4.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

and the Master of his horse called sir Iohn Cheinie. Lastly, a pension of 16000 crownes was promised to be divided among the King of Englands principal servants, of the which sum the Lord Hastings had two thousand. The rest had the Lord Howard, the Master of the horse, Master Chalanger, Master Montgomerie and others: besides this, great sums of money and goodly presents of silver plate were given to King Edwards servants.

CHAPTER VIII

How truce for nine yeeres was treated of betweene the Kings of Fraunce and England.

The Duke of Burgundy hearing these newes, came in great haste from Luxembourg where he lay, to the King of England, accompanied onely with sixteen horse. The King being much astonished at this his so sudden arrivall, asked him what winde drave him thither, perceiving by his countenance that he was displeased. The Duke answered that he was come to talke with him. The King demanded whether he would speake with him privately or publikely. Then said the Duke, have you concluded peace? I have quoth the King made truce for nine yeeres, wherein both you and the Duke of Britaine are comprehended, and I pray you agree thereunto. But the Duke grew marvellous hot, and spake in English (for he could the language) rehearsing what noble acts divers Kings of England had done in Fraunce, and what great travell they had sustained to purchase honor and renowme. Afterward he inveighed vehemently against this truce, saying, that he had not desired the English men to passe the seas for any neede he had of their helpe, but to the end they might recover their owne right. And to the intent they might perceive that he stood in no need of their comming: he protested that he would not make truce with the King, till the King of England had been three moneths at home in his realme: which talke ended, he departed and returned from whence he came. The King of England and his Councill tooke these words in evill part:

but they that misliked the peace commended
much the Dukes speech.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the King feasted the English men in Amiens,
and how there was a place assigned for the
enterview of the two Kings.



THE King of England to the end the peace might be fully concluded, came and encamped within halfe a league of Amiens. The King was at the gate, from whence he might behold the English men a far off as they came. To say the truth they seemed but yong soldiers: for they rode in very evill order. The King sent to the King of England three hundred carts laden with the best wines that might be gotten: the which carriage seemed a far off almost as great as the King of Englands armie. Many English men because of the truce repaired to the towne, where they behaved themselves very indiscreetly, and without all regard of their Princes honor. They came all in armes, and in great troupes: and if the King our Master would have dealt falsly with them, so great a number might never so easily have bin destroied. Notwithstanding he meant nothing lesse, but studied to make them good cheere, and to conclude a sure peace with them for his time. He had caused to be set at the entrie of the towne gate two long tables, on each side of the street one, furnished with all kinds of delicate meates that provoke drinke, and with the best wines that might be gotten, and men to waite upon them: of water there was no mention. At each of these tables he had placed five or sixe great fat gentlemen of good houses, thereby the better to content those that desired to drinke. The gentlemens names were these: Monseur de Cran, de Briquerber, de Bresmes, de Villiers, and others. So soone as the Englishmen drew neere the gate, they might behold this good cheere. Besides this, men purposely ap-

PHILIP DE COMMINES

pointed tooke their horses by the bridles, saying that they would breake a staffe with them, and so led them to the table, where they were feasted according to the varietie of the meats: which they tooke in verie good part. After they were within the towne, what house soever they entred into they paid nothing. Further, nine or ten taverns were well furnished at the Kings charge of all things necessarie: whither they went to eate and drinke, and called for what they would, but the King defraied all: and this cheere endured three or fower daies.

You have heard how the Duke of Burgundie mislikd the peace, which howsoever it displeased him, troubled the Constable much more, because he saw he had failed of his enterprise, and purchased himselfe hatred on all sides: wherefore he sent his Confessor to the King of England with a letter of credit, desiring him for Gods love to have no affiance in the Kings words and promises, but to accept the townes of Eu and S. Valerie, and there to lodge himselfe part of the winter: adding, that within two moneths he would finde meanes to lodge him more commodiously. Other assurance hereof gave he him none: for his onely meaning was to foade him foorth with these faire words. Last of all, to the end he should not conclude a dishonorable treatie for greedines of a little money, he promised to lend him fiftie thousand crownes, with divers other large offers. But the King had already caused the two places above mentioned to be burned, because he knew the King of England had intelligence that the Constable had perswaded him to put them into the English mens hands. King Edwards answer was, that the truce was already concluded, and that he would alter nothing therein, but if he had performed his promise, he would have made no such appointment: which answers drave the Constable into utter despaire.

You have heard of the English mens great cheere in Amiens, but one evening Monseur de Torcy came to the King and told him, that so great a number of them were in the towne, that it stood in some danger. But the King was displeased with his message: wherefore every man forbare to bring him any more such newes. The next morrow

CHAPTER IX

How the King
feasted the
English men
in Amiens.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the King
feasted the
English men
in Amiens.

was one of the daies that represented Childermas day that yeere,* on the which the King used not to debate any matter, but accounted it a signe of some great misfortune towards him, if any man communed with him of his affaires, and would be marvellously displeased with those that were neere about him and acquainted with his humor, if they troubled him with any matter whatsoever. Notwithstanding the same morning I now speake of, as he (being but newly risen) was saying his praiers, one brought me word that there were at the least nine thousand English men within the towne: which newes I hearing, determined to advertise him thereof. Wherefore I entred againe into his closet, and said unto him: Sir, though this day represent unto you Childermas day, yet necessitie inforceth me to informe you of that I heare. Then I advertised him at large of the great number of English men that were within the towne, adding that they entred continually all armed, and that no man durst refuse them the gate for feare of displeasing them. The King was content to heare me speake, and forthwith arose from his praiers, saying, that he would not observe the ceremony of Innocents that day, and bad me mount on horsebacke to see if I could speake with the English mens capitaines, to cause them to depart the towne: further, he commanded me if I met any of his owne capitaines, to bid them repaire unto him, saying also, that himselfe would come to the gate immediately after me. I did as I was commanded, and spake to three or fower English capitaines with whom I was acquainted, advertising them what I thought good to be done in this case: but for one they put forth of the towne, twenty came in. The King sent immediately after me the L. of Gié now Marshall of Fraunce, to take order for this inconvenience: we two entred together into a taverne, where were spent that morning cxi. shots, yet was it but nine of the clocke. The house was full, some sang, some slept, and some were drunke: which when I sawe, I perceived no danger to be of such men, and sent word

* The King upon a superstition kept holy twelve daies in the yeere, viz. every moneth one, in remembrance of the Innocents day: and the day heere mentioned was one of them.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

thereof to the King: who came incontinent with a goodly traine to the gate, and caused two or three hundred soldiers to arme themselves secretly in their capitaines houses, and placed some also upon the gate where the English men entred. Further, he commaunded his diner to be brought into the porters lodge, where he caused divers English gentlemen to dine with him. The King of England being advertised of this disorder, was ashamed thereof, and sent to the King desiring him to give commandement, that no English man should be suffered to enter the towne: whereunto the King answered, that he would never so do: but desired him if it so pleased him, to send certaine of the yomen of his crowne to keepe the gate, and let in such as they should thinke good: and so the King of England did, whereupon a great number of English men departed the towne by his commandement.

It was then determined that for perfect conclusion of peace, Commissioners should be appointed on both sides to assigne a place for the enterview of the two Kings. For our King, the L. of Bouchage and my selfe were named: and for the King of England, the L. Howard, one called Chalenger, and a herault. After we had ridden up and downe and viewed all the river, we agreed in the ende the pleasantest, safest, and most commodious place to be Picquigny, a towne three leagues from Amiens, with a strong castell, belonging to the Vidame of Amiens. Notwithstanding that it were once burned by the Duke of Burgundie. The towne standeth in a bottom, and the river of Som passeth through it, which is deeper there than a mans height, but very narrow. The countrey on both sides of the river through the which the two Kings should passe was very open and pleasant, save that when the King of England drew neere to the river side, there was a causey at the least two bowe shot long environed with a marishe (a very dangerous passage if we had not meant good faith). Wherefore without doubt the English men (as before I have said) are not so subtile and circumspect in these treaties and assemblies as the French. For (whatsoever men say of them) they go bluntly to worke, but a man must have patience with them and give them no crosse language.

CHAPTER IX

How the King
feasted the
English men
in Amiens.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

How the King
feasted the
English men
in Amiens.

After the place was assigned, we determined to build a strong large bridge over the river, the worke men and stuffe we furnished. In the midst of this bridge a wooden grate was made like to a lions cage, the space betweene each bar being no greater than that a man with ease might thrust in his arme: over the head it was boorded to keepe off the raine, so brode that ten or twelve might stand covered under it on each side: over the bridge no man could passe: for the grate was framed cleane overthwart it, and upon the river was but one bote with two men in it, to ferry over such as passed from the one side to the other.

I will tell you what mooved the King to make this grate in such sort that no man could passe through it, bicause it may peradventure stand some man in stead that shall have occasion to make the like. In King Charles the seventh's youth, this realme was greceously plagued by the English men. For King Henry the 5 held the siege before Roan, and had brought the towne to great extremitie: the most part of the inhabitants being either subjects to Iohn Duke of Burgundie then living, or of his faction.

Betweene the said Duke Iohn of Burgundy and the Duke of Orleans great variance had beene of long time, so far forth, that the whole realme or the greatest part was rent into two factions, whereby the Kings estate was much weakened: for partialitie never ariseth in any realme, but in the end the fire thereof is dangerous and hard to be quenched. This variance grew so hot, that the Duke of Orleans was slaine at Paris about eleven yeeres before.* The Duke of Burgundie led a great armie, with the which he marched towards Normandy, minding to levy the siege before Roan,† but to the end he might be the stronger, and

* These eleven yeeres was in the text but one yeere: the Printer for 'onze ans avoit' having printed 'un an avoit.' For the Duke of Orleans was slaine anno 1407 the 22 of November, and the King of England laid his siege before Roan 1418, the last of Iuly, but Meyer saith in Iune, and it was yeelded to him the 19 or 16 as some write of Ianuarie 1419, which was eleven yeeres and somewhat more after the Duke of Orleans death.

† All authors report, that not onely Roan but all Normandie was taken before D. Iohn of Burgundie was slaine: for Roan was yeelded

PHILIP DE COMMINES

the better assured of the King, it was agreed that the King and he should meet at Montereau fault Yonne, where a bridge was made and a grate overthwart it, with a little wicket in the midst boulded on both sides, so that a man might passe through with consent of both parties. The King* came on the one side of the bridge, and the Duke on the other: being both accompanied with a great number of men of armes, especially the Duke. They fell in communication together upon the bridge: at the which were present on the Dukes side onely three or fower.† But after they had talked a while, the Duke either through earnest sollicitation of those that were with the King, or of a desire he had to humble himselfe before him, unboulded the wicket on his side, and the others on theirs. Three of the Dukes men went through before him, and then himselfe passed being the fourth and was immediately slaine,‡ and they also that accompanied him: whereof ensued great miseries and calamities to this realme,§ as all the world can witnes. This historie was before my time, wherefore I forbear further to speake thereof: but thus the King rehearsed it to me word for word

CHAPTER IX

How the King
feasted the
English men
in Amiens.

to the English 1419 the 19 of Ianuarie, and the Duke slaine the same yeer in November, September, or August (for authors so diversly report the time), but Commynes maner (as himselfe writeth) is not to stand so exactly upon times. Further, authors agree not among themselves about this matter. Lastly, this place may be understood, that when Duke John levied his armie, his meaning was to raise the siege before Roan, though he could not come time ynough to execute his enterprise. Of the Dukes death reade Meyer lib. 15 fol. 255 and 256, *Chron. Fland.* fol. 281, *Annal. Burgund.* etc.

* Note that this notwithstanding, he was not K. yet but Dauphin.

† The French writers say each of them having ten Knights.

‡ The French to excuse the Dauphin say, that Tanneguy du Chastell (sometime servant to the Duke of Orleans that was slaine) slue D. Iohn with one blow of a battell axe, because of certaine arrogant words used at that time to the Dauphin: whereas Commynes and Meyer report that too great humilitie was cause of his death. Tanneguy du Chastell, Oliver Layet, Peter Frotier, and William Batillier slue Duke Iohn and the Lord of Nouaille with him, who drew his sword in the Dukes defence.—*Annal. Burgund., Introd. de la Marche*, Meyer.

§ For Duke Philip of Burgundie to revenge his fathers death, entered in league with the English men.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX
How the King
feasted the
English men
in Amiens.

at the same time that this enterview with King Edward was appointed: saying, that if there had beene no wicket, no occasion had beene to desire the Duke to passe through the grate, and then that great misfortune had not happened. The authors whereof were certaine of the Duke of Orleans servants that was slaine, who were then in great credit with King Charles.

CHAPTER X

How the two Kings met and sware the treatie before concluded, and how some supposed that the holy Ghost came downe upon the King of Englands pavilion in the likenes of a white pigeon.



OUR grate being finished as you have heard, the next day the two Kings came thither in the yeere 1475 the 29 of August.* The K. had with him about eight hundred men of armes, and arrived first at the grate: on the King of Englands side stood all his army in order of battell, which undoubtedly was great both of horsemen and footemen: yet could not we discover his whole force. We on our side seemed but a handfull to them, and no marvell: for the fourth part of the Kings armie was not there. It was appointed that each of the Kings should be accompanied at the grate with twelve persons, which were already named, of the noblest personages and such as were neerest about them. Moreover, on our side were fower of the King of Englands servants to view what we did, and as many of ours on their side. The

* The old copie saith the 19 day, Meyer the 31 day, Gaguin the 23 of October.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

King as I told you, arrived first at the grate, and twelve of us waited upon him, among whom were the late Duke Iohn of Bourbon and the Cardinall his brother. It pleased him that I should weare that day a sute of apparell like his owne: for he had used of long time, and that verie often, to command one or other to be apparelled like himselfe. The King of England came along upon the causey above mentioned with a marvellous goodly traine, as was convenient for the majestie of a Prince: he was accompanied with the Duke of Clarence his brother, the Earle of Northumberland, and divers other noble men, namely the Lord Hastings his Chamberlaine, his Chauncellor, and others. But there were not past three or fower besides himselfe apparelled in cloth of golde. Further, he ware on his head a blacke velvet cap with a marvellous rich jewell, being a Flower de luce set with stones. He was a goodly tall Prince, but inclined now to be somewhat grosse, and I had seene him before much beautifuller than at this present, for sure when the Earle of Warwicke chased him out of England, he was the goodliest gentleman that ever I set mine eie on. When he came within five foote of the grate, he tooke off his cap, and bowed downe within halfe a foote of the ground: the King in like maner who was leaning upon the grate, used great reverence towards him: and when they came to embrace each other through the grate, the King of England againe made low obeisance. Then the King began the talke and saide: Cosin, you are most hartily welcom, there is no man in the world whom I have so much desired to see as you, and praised be God that we are met heere to so good a purpose: hereunto the King of England answered in good French. This talke ended, the Chancellor of England, who was a Prelate and Bishop of Elie, began his oration with a prophesie (whereof the English men are never unfurnished:*) which saide that in this place of Picquigny an honorable peace should be concluded betweene the Realmes of Fraunce and England. The Bishops oration being ended, the letters were opened that the King had delivered to the King of England touching

CHAPTER X

How the two
Kings met
and sware the
treatie before
concluded.

* The like reporteth Iovius of the French.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER X

How the two
Kings met
and sware the
treatie before
concluded.

the conclusion of the treatie: and the said Chancellor asked the King whether they were written by his commandement, and whether he avowed them: whereunto the King answered yea. Then the Bishop asked him againe, if he held himselfe contented in like maner with those letters and writings that were delivered him on the King of Englands behalfe: whereunto the King answered as before. Then was the missall brought foorth and opened: upon the which each of the Kings laide one of their hands, and the other upon the true holy crosse, and sware both of them to keepe and observe the articles concluded betweene them, namely the truce for nine yeeres, wherein the confederats of both parties were comprehended, and the marriage of their children to be accomplished in maner and forme as was comprehended in the treatie. After they had both sworne, the King (who had his words at commandement) began to enter into pleasant talke with the King of England: saying that he should come to Paris to solace himselfe there with the Ladies, and that he would give him the Cardinall of Bourbon for his confessor, who would easily assoile him of that sinne, if any were committed. The King of England tooke great pleasure in this talke, and answered with a merry countenance: for he knew the Cardinall to be a good fellow. After some such like speeches passed betweene them, the King to shew that he had authoritie among his men, commanded those that were with him to withdraw themselves, saying that he would commune with the King of England in secret: which they that accompanied the King of England seeing, retired without commandement. After the two Kings had communed awhile together, the King called me to him, and asked the King of England if he knew me, who answered, that he knew me well, and named the places where he had seene me, adding, that in times past I had taken paines to do him service in Calais during the time I was with the Duke of Burgundie. Then the King inquired of him, if the Duke of Burgundy would not be comprehended in the truce (as it was to be presumed because of his froward answer, that he would not) what it would please him that he should do? The King of England

PHILIP DE COMMINES

said, that he would offer it him yet once more, and if he refused to accept it, that then they two should do as they thought good. Afterward the King fell in talke of the Duke of Britaine (which was the onely end why he mooved this question) and asked him in like maner of him. The King of England desired him earnestly to attempt nothing against the D. of Britain, saying that in his necessity he never found so faithfull a friend: whereupon the King ended this communication: and then calling the company together againe, with the most curteous and gracious language that might be, tooke his leave of the King of England, giving very good words in like maner to every one of his servants. And so the two Princes in a manner both at one instant departed from the grate and tooke horse. The King returned to Amiens, and the King of England to his campe, whither we sent from the court all kinde of provision necessarie for him, so far forth, that torches and lights were not forgotten. At this entervue the Duke of Gloucester King Edwards brother, and certaine others were not present, because they misliked the peace. Notwithstanding, afterward they were well ynough perswaded to allow of it, so far forth that the said Duke of Gloucester came to Amiens to the King, who gave him many goodly presents of silver plate, and horses with all kinde of furniture.

After the King was returned from this meeting, upon the way he debated two points with me: the one, he found the King of England so willing to come to Paris that it liked him never a whit. For he is, quoth he, a goodly Prince, and much given to love: he may peradventure meete with some daintie dame at Paris, that will entertaine him with so many sugred words, that she may happily make him desirous to returne thither againe. But his predecessors have sojourned too long both at Paris and in Normandy. I like not his company on this side the sea, but so long as he keepeth home, I wish to have him my good friend and loving brother. The other point was this, he was sorie that he found the King of England somewhat hard when he made mention of the D. of Britaine: for the King was so desirous

CHAPTER X

How the two
Kings met
and sware the
treatie before
concluded.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

X

How the two
Kings met
and sware the
treatie before
concluded.

to perswade him to suffer warre to be made in Britaine, that afterward he sollicitied this matter a new by the Lords of Bouchage and Saint Pierre. But the King of England seeing himselfe thus earnestly pressed, answered in fewe words, that who so should make warre upon the Duke of Britaine, he would passe the seas yet once againe in his defence: which answer being heard, the matter was no further mentioned. After the King was returned to Amiens, even as he was going to supper, arrived three or fower noble men of England such as had furthered the peace, and the Lord Howard (who was one of them) began to talke with the King in his care, saying, that if it pleased him, he would finde meanes to bring his Master to Amiens, and peradventure to Paris, to make merrie with him, which offer though the King liked never a whit, yet made he shew of great good liking thereof, and began to wash, not answering much to that point, but tolde me softly in mine eare, that the thing he most feared was hapned, meaning this offer. After supper they fell againe in communication of the selvesame matter, but with wise words the enterprise was broken off: for the King said, that with all speede he must depart to go against the Duke of Burgundy. Although these affaires were of great importance and sagely ordered on both sides: yet you see merrie toies hapned also among them which are not to be forgotten. But as touching the K. who will marvell (considering the great harmes the English men have done in Fraunce but of late yeeres) if he travelled his body, and spent his money to rid them friendly out of the Realme, to the intent heereafter he might keepe them his friends, at the least not have them his foes.

The next day after this meeting, a great number of English men repaired to Amiens, some of them affirming that the holy Ghost had made this peace (for they grounded all on prophesies). The reason that mooved them so to say was, for that a white pigeon sate upon the King of Englands pavilion that day of the enterview, and would not remooove thence notwithstanding any noise made in the camp. The cause whereof as some men judged, was, for that it had

PHILIP DE COMMINES

rained a little, and afterward the sunne shining very hot, the pigeon lighted upon this pavilion (being higher than the rest) to drie hir selfe: which reason was given by a gentleman of Gascoine servant to the King of England, named Lewis of Bretilles, who was not a little offended with the peace. And bicause he and I were of old acquaintance, he talked familiarly with me: saying that we would deride the King of England for this treatie. I asked him how many battels the said King had woon: he told me nine, in the which himselfe had been in person. Then I demanded of him againe, how many he had lost: and he answered never but one, which was this we now bereaved him of: adding, that he received greater dishonor by returning home after this sort, than he had obtained honor in winning the other nine. Of this communication I advertised the King, who said he was a dangerous knave, and that some meanes must be found to stop his mouth: whereupon he sent for him, and made him dine at his owne table, offering him very large offers and goodly offices if he would tarie in Fraunce. But seeing he would by no meanes be woon thereunto, he gave him a thousand crownes in monie, promising also a good turne to his brethren that were on this side the sea, and I gave him a watchword in his eare, to employ his credit to continue the friendship and amitie begun betweene the two Princes.

The King feared especially above all things least some word should escape him at unawares, whereby the English men might gather that he derided them. And by chaunce the next morning after this meeting, as he was in his closet, and not past three or fower of us with him, he spake a merrie word touching the wines and presents sent to the English campe: and as he turned about espied a merchant of Gascoine that dwelt in England, who was come to moove a sute to him for a licence to ship certaine Gascoine wines into England without impost, which was a sute that might much benefit the said merchant if he could obtaine it. The King woondered when he saw him how he was gotten in thither, and asked him of what towne he was in Guienne, and whether he were a merchant and married in England.

CHAPTER X

How the two
Kings met
and sware the
treatie before
concluded.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

X

How the two
Kings met
and sware the
treatie before
concluded.

The merchant answered yea, but that his wealth was not great. Incontinent before his departure thence, the King appointed one to accompanie him to Bordeaux, and I communed with him by his commandement. Further, a good office in the towne where he was borne was given him: the licence for the wines which he demanded was graunted him, and besides this 1000 franks were delivered him for his wives charges upon the way, and he sent a brother of his into England for hir, but went not himselfe. Thus the King imposed this penaltie upon himselfe for his over large speech.

CHAPTER XI

How the Constable after the truce made with the English men, sought to excuse himselfe to the King: and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.



THE selfesame day above mentioned, being the next day after the interview, the Constable sent letters to the King by a servant of his named Rapine (who was a trustie servant to his Master, and whom also the King preferred afterward): Monsieur de Lude and my selfe were commanded to heare his message. Now you shall understand that Monsieur de Contay was already returned from the Duke of Burgundie to the Court, about the practise above mentioned devised against the Constable: so that the said Constable knewe not to what Saint he should vow himselfe, but remained in utter despaire. Rapines message was very humble, tending to excuse his Master of the sundrie evill reports that he knew had been

PHILIP DE COMMINES

made of him to the King, for that the end sufficiently declared, that he never meant to doe otherwise than dutie required. And to the intent he might the better assure the King of his true dealing, he promised so to practise with the Duke of Burgundy, that he would perswade him to helpe to destroy the King of England and his whole army, if it so pleased the King. And it seemed by his speech that his Master was in utter despaire. We told him that we were in perfect amity with the English men, and would no war. But Monsieur de Lude who was with me, adventured to aske him if he knew where his Masters treasure lay. I marvelled to heare such a word escape him: for seeing this Rapine was a very trustie servant to his Master, this speech was sufficient to have caused the Constable to flie, and to understand in what estate he was, and what was a brewing for him, especially seeing the danger he had been in not past a yeere before. But I never knew man in my life neither heere nor elsewhere, that could dislodge in time and shun the danger hanging over his head: some because they thinke they shall not be received nor be in safetie in strange countries, and other some because they are too much affectionate to their goods, wives and children: which two reasons have beene the cause of many a good mans undoing.

After we had made report to the King of Rapines message, he called for one of his Secretaries, none being with him but the Lord Howard the King of Englands servant, (who understood nothing of this practise against the Constable,) the Lord of Contay who was returned from the Duke of Burgundie, and we two that had talked with the said Rapine. Then he indited a letter to the Constable, wherein he advertised him of all that was done the day before, namely, the treatie of peace. Further, he sent him word that he was busied with divers affaires of great importance, and had neede of such a head as his: which word was no sooner uttered, but he turned to the Englishmen, and the Lord of Contay, saying softly to them, I meane not that we should have the body, but the head without the body. This letter was delivered to Rapine, who liked it marvellous well, especially those words that the King had neede of such

CHAPTER XI

How the Constable sought to excuse himselfe to the King: and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XI

How the Constable sought to excuse himself to the King : and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.

a head as his Masters, but he understood not the mysterie thereof. The King of England also sent the King the two letters of credit that the Constable had written to him, and disclosed all the messages that he had sent him, whereby you may perceive how the Constable had behaved himselfe towards these three great Princes, and in what estate he was : every one of the three desiring his death.

The King of England upon the receipt of his money departed, and marched in great haste towards Callice, fearing the Duke of Burgundies malice and his subjects, and not without cause : for whensoever his men scattered and singled themselves, some of them came short home. At his departure he left for hostages with the King, till his returne into England according to his promise, the Lord Howard, and the Master of his horse called Sir Iohn Cheiny.

You have heard before at the entrance into these English affaires, that K. Edward had no great devotion to this voyage into Fraunce : for being come to Dover, before he embarked he began to practise with us. But there were two causes that mooved him to passe the seas : one, the desire his whole realme had, according to their naturall inclination, to make war in Fraunce, and the rather at this present, because the Duke of Burgundie pressed the war so earnestly : the other, the hope he had to reserve to himselfe a great part of the subsidie levied in England for this voiage : for as before I have said, the Kings of England receive onely the bare revenues of their lands, save when they levie money to make war in Fraunce. Further, K. Edward had devised this subtiltie to appease his subjects : he had brought with him ten or 12 great fat paunches, as well of the citie of London, as of other townes in England, who were the wealthiest men of the commonaltie, and had beene the chiefest instruments both in perswading the King to passe into Fraunce, and also in levying this mightie armie. The King caused them to be lodged in good tents, but that was not the life they were accustomed to lead : wherefore they soone waxed wearie of it. At their first arrivall they looked for the battell within three daies after their landing. But the King of England alleaged many doubts unto them, and

PHILIP DE COMMINES

endeavourd to put them in feare of the battell, and to perswade them to allow of the peace, to the ende they might aide him at their returne into England to pacifie the murmuring and grudging of the people that happily might arise because of his returne: for never King of England since King Arthur, passed at one time with so great force, and so many noble personages into Fraunce. But after the peace was concluded, the King of England repaired homeward with speed, reserving to himselfe a great summe of money levied in England for the paiment of his soldiers; so that he obtained in effect all his purposes. His bodie could not away with such labour as a King of England must endure that mindeth to atchieve any great enterprise in Fraunce. Further, the King our Master had made great preparation for resistance, though to say the truth he could not well have provided defence sufficient against all his enimies: for he had too monie. Lastly, the King of England had a marvellous great desire to accomplish the marriage of his daughter with King Charles the 8 now raigning, which caused him to winke at a number of inconveniences, that turned after to the King our Masters great profit.

After all the English men were returned home saving the Hostages: the King tooke his journey towards Laon, and lodged in a little towne upon the marches of Henault called Vervins, and to Avennes in Henault came the Chauncellor of Burgundie with the Lord of Contay and other ambassadors from the Duke. The King was very desirous at this time to conclude a finall peace: for this mightie English armie had put him in feare, and no marvell: for he had seene in his time of their doings in this Realme, and would in no wise their returne. The said Chauncellor writ to the King, desiring that it would please him to send his Commissioners for the peace to a certaine bridge in the midway betweene Avennes and Vervins, saying, that he and his colleagues would meete them there. The King sent him answer, that he would come thither himselfe, and notwithstanding that divers, whose advise he asked in this matter, perswaded him to the contrarie: yet thither he went, leading also with him the English hostages, who were present when

CHAPTER XI

How the Constable sought to excuse himselfe to the King: and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

XI

How the Constable sought to excuse himselfe to the King : and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.

he received the Dukes ambassadors, the which came very well accompanied with archers and men of war. At this first meeting they did but salute the King, and then went to dinner. One of the English men began to repent him that the treatie was concluded, and said to me at a window, that if they had seene many such men with the Duke of Burgundie, peradventure they would not have made peace. Which words the Vicount of Narbonne* (now Lord of Fouez) hearing, said : Were you so simple to thinke, that the Duke of Burgundie had not great force of such men ? he had sent them onely to refresh themselves : but you were so desirous to returne home, that sixe hundred pipes of wine, and a pension the King giveth you, blew you quickly backe into England. The English man in a great furie answered ; I perceive now their sayings to proove true, that told us you would deride us for making peace. Cal you the money the King giveth us, a pension ? It is tribute, and by Saint George you may babble so much that you may soone make us to returne. But I brake off their talke and turned it to a jest : notwithstanding the Englishman was discontented and cast out a word thereof to the King, who was marvelously offended with the Lord of Narbonne for his speech.

The King communed not long at this first meeting with the Chancellor and the other ambassadors : for it was agreed that they should go with him to Vervines, where when they arrived he commanded M. Tanneguy du Chastell, and M. Peter Doriole Chancellor of Fraunce, and others to negotiate with them : much ado there was betweene them, many reasons alleaged, and many demands made on each side. The Kings Commissioners made report to him that the Burgundians used fierce and stoute language, but that they had paid them with the like, and withall told him what their answers were. Which he much misliked, saying, that the

* The French having onely Monsieur de Narbonne, made Sleidan translate it the Bishop of Narbonne, wheras in deede he was Vicount of Narbonne, not Bishop, as other authors affirme : and as these words, ' Qui au jourd'huy s'appelle Monsieur de Fouez,' plainly proove : wherefore for avoiding of Sleidans error, I have put this word (Vicount) into the text, though it be not in the French.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

like answers had been made divers times before, and that they treated not of a finall peace, but onely of truce; whereof he woulde have no more such language used, but woulde himselfe commune with them: and thereupon caused the said Chauncellor and the other ambassadors to come into his chamber, out of the which all men were commanded to avoid, save the late L. Admirall called the bastard of Burbon, Monseur de Bouchage, and my selfe. There the King concluded truce for nine yeeres, wherein it was agreed, that every man shuld be restored to his former estate. But the ambassadors besought the King that the truce might not yet be proclaimed, to save the D. their Masters oth, who had sworne not to make truce before the King of England had beene a certaine space in his Realme, least he should thinke their Master had accepted his truce.

But the King of England (who thought great scorne that the Duke would not be comprehended in his truce) being advertised that he treated with the King of an other, sent over into Fraunce a knight neere about him called Sir Thomas Montgomery, who came to Vervins at the very same instant that the King treated with the Duke of Burgundies ambassadors of this truce above mentioned. The said Sir Thomas required the King in the King his Masters name, to make no other truce with the Duke of Burgundy, than that which was already concluded betweene them two. Further desiring him not to deliver Saint Quintins into the Dukes hands, and offering that if he would continue war with the Duke, his Master would be content the next sommer to passe the seas againe for him, and in his aide, with these conditions. First, that the King should recompence the losse the King of England should sustaine by the wooll custome of Calais, amounting yeerely to 50000 crownes: which if the war opened with Flaunders were cleerely lost. And secondarily, that the King should pay the one halfe of the English army, and the King of England the other. The King yeilded great thanks to the King of England for this curteous message, and gave a goodly present of silver plate to the said Sir Thomas. Notwithstanding, as touching the war he excused himselfe, say-

CHAPTER XI

How the Constable sought to excuse himselfe to the King: and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XI

How the Constable sought to excuse himselfe to the King, etc.

ing that the truce was already concluded, being the very same that the King of England and he had made for the terme of nine yeeres, save that the Duke would have his letters apart. Thus to content the ambassador he excused the matter the best he could, and the said Sir Thomas returned into England and the hostages with him. The King marvelled much at the K. of Englands offers, at the report whereof my selfe onely was present. But it seemed to him a dangerous thing, to cause the King of England to passe the seas againe, both because every trifle would breed quarrels betweene the French and English being in campe together; and also because it was to be feared that the Burgundians and they would easily reconcile themselves: wherefore he was so much the more desirous to conclude the truce with the Duke of Burgundie.

CHAPTER XII

How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie, and how he went into the Dukes dominions, where by his commandement he was staid and delivered to the King, and after put to death.



HE truce being concluded, the old practise against the Constable was revived: and to the end the processe thereof should be short; they ratified all that was done before at Bouvines, and the writings there made (as before you have heard) were againe interchangeably delivered. In the said writings the King promised the Duke Saint Quintins, Han, Bohain, and al the lands

PHILIP DE COMMINES

that the Constable held of the Duke, and all his moovables wheresoever they were found.* Further, the maner how to besiege him in Han (where he lay) was devised. It was also agreed that whether of the two Princes could first take him, should either put him to death within eight daies, or deliver him to the other. All men incontinent began to feare this confederacie, so far foorth that the Constables principall servants forsooke him, namely Monsieur de Genly and divers others. Further, he being advertised that King Edward had delivered his letters to the King and discovered all that he knew of him; and seeing also that his enimies had made truce, fell into great feare, and sent to the Duke of Burgundie, humbly beseeching him to give him a safe conduct to come and speake with him about certaine affaires that greatly imported him. The Duke at the first made daintie to grant a safe conduct, but in the end sent him one. This mightie noble man had oft debated, whither he should flie to save himselfe: for he was informed of all that was done, and had seene the writings devised against him at Bouvines. Sometime he consulted with certaine of his servants, being Lorrains, determining to flie with them into Almaine, carying a great sum of money with him (for the way was very safe) therewith to buy some place upon the river of Rhene to remaine in, till he were reconciled to one of the two Princes. Sometime he resolved to put himselfe into his strong castell of Han, which had cost him so much money, and which he had fortified to serve him at such a pinch, and furnished of all things as well as any castell that ever I knew. But he could not finde men to his minde to put into the place, bicause all his servants were borne under the Dominions of one of the two Princes. And peradventure his feare was so great, that he durst not wholly discover himselfe and his estate to them; for I thinke a great many of them would not have forsaken him: neither was it so dangerous for him to be besieged of both the Princes as of one, for it had beene impossible for the two armies to agree.

* Understand this as well of the moovables he had in the Kings dominions, as under the Duke.

CHAPTER XII

How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie, and how he was put to death.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie, and how he was put to death.

But in the end he concluded to go to the Duke of Burgundie under this safe conduct, being accompanied onely with fifteene or twenty horse, and rode to Montz in Hainault, where the Lord Desmeriez great bailife of Hainault and his especial friend lay. With him he sojourned a certaine space, attending newes from the Duke of Burgundy, who had lately begun war upon the Duke of Lorraine, bicause he had defied him when he lay at the siege before Nuz, and done much harme in the countrey of Luxembourg.

The King being advertised of the Constables departure, purposed so to order the matter, that he should never recover the Duke of Burgundies favor: for he levied seven or eight hundred men of armes, and rode with them in all haste to Saint Quintins, knowing well what force was within the towne; neere to the which when he approached, certaine of the Citizens came foorth to receive him. The King commanded me to enter the towne, and appoint every captaine to his quarter, and so I did. First the soldiers entred, and then the King, who was very honorably received of the townes men: whereupon certaine of the Constables servants retired into Hainault. The King immediately advertised the Duke by a letter of his own hand, of the taking of Saint Quintins; thereby to put him utterly out of hope to recover it by the Constables meanes. Which newes when the Duke understood, he sent word to the Lord Desmeriez great bailife of Hainault, to garde the towne of Montz in such sort, that the Constable could not depart, and farther to command him to keepe his lodging: which commandement the bailife executed accordingly, for he durst doe no lesse. Notwithstanding, the garde was not strong enough for such a personage, if he had beene disposed to escape. What shall we say heere of Fortune? This noble man dwelt upon the frontires of both these Princes dominions being enimies, having strong townes in his hands, and fower hundred men of armes well paide, of the which he was Comptroller himselfe, and placed whom it pleased him, and had been their Captaine the space of twelve yeeres. He was a wise and a walian knight, and of great experience, and had great treasure in ready coine: yet

PHILIP DE COMMINES

notwithstanding at this last pinch his courage so failed him, that he wist not what shift to make. We may well say, that fickle Fortune behelde him with a frowning countenance : or rather (if we will speake like good Christians) we must say, that such great miseries depend not upon Fortune : for Fortune is but a phantasticall fiction of Poetrie. Wherefore wee must thinke if wee well weigh both the reasons above alleaged, and divers other heere unrehearsed, that God had utterly forsaken him and given him over. And if it were lawfull for man to judge, as I know it is not (especially for me) I would say that in mine opinion all this misery fell upon him, because he travelled continually to the uttermost of his power to nourish the war betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundy, knowing his great authority and estate to depend thereupon : although to say the truth, the matter needed no great labour, for there was a naturall antipathy betweene them. Who is so rude or ignorant to thinke that Fortune or any other like chance was able to cast so wise a man into the disgrace of both these Princes at once, (who in their lives never agreed in any thing save onely this,) especially into the King of Englands disgrace, who had married his neece, and loved entirely all his wives kinsmen, especially those of this house of Saint Paul. It is like therefore, yea it is most certaine, that God had withdrawen his grace from him, in that he had purchased himselfe such hatred of all these three Princes, and had not one friend in the world that durst give him a nights lodging. Neither was it fained Fortune that strake this stroke, but God alone. The like whereof hath hapned, and shall happen to divers others, who after great and long prosperitie fall into great adversitie and trouble. After the Constable was arrested in Hainault by the Duke of Burgundies commandement, the King sent word to the D. either to deliver him into his hands, or execute him according to the tenure of the writings above mentioned. The Duke answered that he would so do, and commaunded the Constable to be led to Peronne, and there straightly kept. Further you shall understand that the Duke had already taken divers places in Lorraine and Barrois, and at this

CHAPTER XII

How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworn betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie, and how he was put to death.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie, and how he was put to death.

present helde the siege before Nancy, which was valiantly defended. The King had great force of men of armes in Champagne, which held the Duke in feare: for the King was not bound by the truce to suffer him to destroy the Duke of Lorraine, who was retired into Fraunce. The Lord of Bouchage and divers other ambassadors sent by the King, pressed the Duke earnestly, to performe his promise and oth; and he answered ever that he would so do; but yet delaied it more than a moneth over and above the eight daies wherein he should either have delivered the Constable, or put him to death. Notwithstanding in the end seeing the matter so earnestly pressed, and fearing that the King would hinder his enterprise in Lorraine, which he so much desired to atchieve, to the end he might have the passage open from Luxembourg into Burgundy, and joine all these Seniories together: for this little Duchy of Lorraine being his, he might come upon his owne dominions from Holland, almost as far as Lions.* For these considerations I say, he wrote to his Chancellor and the Lord of Himbercourt so often already mentioned, (which two had absolute authoritie in his absence, and were both of them the Constables enemies, and evill willers) to go to Peronne and deliver the Constable at a day by him prefixed, to those that the King should there appoint to receive him, sending word withall to the Lord Desmeriez to deliver him to the said Chancellor and Himbercourt.

The Duke of Burgundy in the meane time beat continually the towne of Nancy: but there were good soldiers within it which valiantly defended it. Further, one of the Dukes owne Captaines, called the Earle of Campobache, a Neapolitane borne, but banished thence for the house of Anjous faction, was lately entred into intelligence with the Duke of Lorraine, heire apparant of the house of Anjou after the death of King Rene his mothers father. This Earle of Campobache promised to prolong the siege, and finde meanes that such things should be lacking as were necessary for the

* The Duke desired Lorraine, not onely for the cause heere alleaged by our author, but also to proclaime himselfe under that colour King of Sicile and Hierusalem.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

taking of the towne.* Which his promise, he was very well able to performe, being then the greatest man in the Dukes army; but a false traitor to his Master, as hereafter you shall heare more at large. This was a preparative as it were of all those evils and miseries that fell afterward upon the Duke of Burgundy. The said Duke meant as I suppose, if he had taken the towne before the day appointed for the Constables delivery, not to deliver him at all. And on the other side I thinke, if the King had had him, he would have done more in the Duke of Lorraines favor than he did: for he was advertised of the Earle of Campobaches traitorous practises, but medled not in them: yet was hee not bound to let the Duke of Burgundy doe what him listed in Lorraine, (notwithstanding for divers respects he thought it best so to do:) besides this he had great forces upon the frontiers of the said countrey of Lorraine.

The Duke could not take Nancy before the day appointed for the Constables delivery,† which being come, the two above mentioned executed willingly their Masters commandement,‡ and delivered him at the gate of Peronne to the bastard of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce, and to Monseur de Saint Pierre, who led him to Paris. Divers have told me, that within three howers after his departure, messengers came in poste from the Duke with a countermaund, to wit, that he should not be delivered before Nancy were taken,

CHAPTER XII

How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie, and how he was put to death.

* This Campobache (as some report) wrought this treason, for that the Duke had once in his rage given him a blow.—Meyer.

† He tooke Nancy about the 19 of November, but la Marche saith in the end of November, Meyer 23 November 1475, and the Constable was delivered the 30 of November.

‡ The Chancellor and Hymbercourt delivered him with such speed through evil wil, wheras they ought to have staide till the second message had come from the Duke: for as saith Meyer, ‘Ferebat consuetudo ex jure militari civilique desumta, ut in talibus gravibus rebus secundam semper prætores ministrique expectarent jussionem; at hoc isti duo odio gravissimo deflagrantes in comitem stabuli, gratúmque volentes facere regi mirum in modum sanguinem illius sitienti, non observaverunt. Si observassent ut debebant, fortassis et virum ipsum, et Ducem Dominum suum seque ipsos planè servassent. Siquidem statim post Caroli interitum ambo apud Gandavum accepère talionem.’

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XII

How the Constables death was fully concluded, etc.

but it was too late. At Paris the Constables proces was made, and the Duke delivered all his letters that were in his hands, and all such evidence as served for the proces. The King pressed the Court earnestly, and Iustices were appointed for the hearing of his cause, who seeing the evidence that both the King of England and the Duke gave against him, condemned him to die,* and confiscated all his goods.

CHAPTER XIII

A discourse of the fault the Duke of Burgundie committed in delivering the Constable to the King contrarie to his safe conduct, and what ensued thereof.



HIS deliverie of the Constable was marvelous strange; notwithstanding I speake it not to excuse his faults, neither to accuse the Duke, for sure he had just cause to seeke his death. But me thinke that he being so great a Prince and of so noble and honorable an house, should not have given him a safe conduct, and then arrest him. And undoubtedly it was great crueltie to deliver him where he was sure to die, especially for covetousnes. But soone after he had thus dishonored himselfe by this deede, he received great losses and began to fall to ruine. So that if we well consider the workes that God hath done in these our daies, and daily doth, we shall easily perceive that he will leave no fault unpunished, and that these strange punishments are inflicted onely by him, because they surmount far the works of nature. For his punishments are sudden, especially upon those that use violence and crueltie:

* The Constable died the 19 of December 1475.—*Annal. Franc.*, Gaguin, Meyer, in whom read the causes of his death, fol. 368.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

who can not be meane persons, but mightie men, either in seniories or authoritie. This house of Burgundy had long florished, for by the space of a hundred yeeres or thereabout, (during the which time raigned fower of this house) it was more esteemed then any other house in Christendome. For all those that were mightier then it, had suffered great afflictions and adversities, but it lived continually in perpetual felicity and honor. The first great Prince of this house was Philip surnamed the Hardy, brother to Charles the fift King of Fraunce, who married the daughter and heire of the Earle of Flaunders; being Countesse not onely of that countrey, but also of Artois, Burgundy,* Nevers and Rethell. The second was Iohn: the third was the good Duke Philip, who joyned to his house the Duchies of Brabant, Luxembourg, Lambourg, and the counties of Holland, Zeland, Hainault, and Namur. The fourth was this Duke Charles, who after his fathers death was one of the richest and most redoubted Princes of Christendome; and had in moveables, namely jewels, plate, tapestrie, bookes, and naprie, more than three of the greatest Princes in Christendome. Of treasure in coine I have seene greater aboundance in other Princes Courts: for Duke Philip by the space of many yeeres levied neither subsidies nor taskes: yet notwithstanding at his death, he left his sonne above three hundred thousand crownes in ready money, and in peace with all his neighbors, which long indured not: notwithstanding I will not impute the whole occasion of the wars to him, for others were as busie as he. His subjects immediatly after his fathers death, upon a small request graunted him very willingly a subsidie (every countrie a part) for the terme of ten yeeres, amounting yeerely to the summe of 350000 crownes: Burgundy not being comprehended therein. Yea and at the time he delivered the Constable, he levied yeerely over and above the former summe more than 300000 crownes, and had above 300000 crownes in coine; and all the Constables goods that came to his hands, amounted hardly to the value of 80000 crownes, for he had but 76000 in coine. So that the Duke committed this foule fault for small gaine, yet was the punishment thereof great: for God raised up an

CHAPTER XIII

A discourse of the fault the Duke of Burgundie committed in delivering the Constable to the King contrarie to his safe conduct.

* Understand this of the County of Burgundy, not of the Duchy.

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIII

A discourse
of the fault
the Duke of
Burgundie
committed in
delivering the
Constable to
the King con-
trarie to his
safe conduct.

enemie against him of small force, of yong yeeres, and of little experience in all things, and caused his servant whom he then most trusted, to become false and traiterous. He made also the Duke himselfe to mistrust his owne subjects and faithfull servants. Are not these such manifest tokens and preparatives as God used in the olde Testament, against those whose good fortune and prosperitie he meant to change into miserie and adversitie? Yet he never humbled himselfe before God, but even till the hower of death attributed all his good successe to his owne wisdom and prowesse: before his death he was mightier then any of his predecessors, and more esteemed through the whole world.

Before the Constables deliverie he was fallen into a marvellous mistrust or great disdaine of his owne subjects: for he had sent into Italie for a thousand men of armes Italians. Before Nuz also he had great force of Italians in his campe: for the Earle of Campobache had under his charge fower hundred men of armes and better. This Earle had no possessions for his maintenance, for bicause of the wars the house of Anjou had made in the realme of Naples (which house he served,) he was banished his cuntry and lost all his landes, and served ever since his departure out of Italie, in Provence or Lorraine under King Rene of Cicile, or Duke Nicholas sonne to Duke Iohn of Calabria. After whose death the Duke of Burgundie gave entertainment to most of his servants, especially all his Italians: namely this Earle of Campobache, Iames Galeot a valiant honorable and faithfull gentleman, and divers others. The said Earle of Campobache when he went into Italie to levie his men, received of the Duke of Burgundie 40000 duckets in prest for his companie. But as he passed through Lions, he fell in acquaintance with a Phisition named Master Simon of Pavye, by whome he advertised the King that if he would grant him certain demands, he would promise him at his returne to deliver the Duke of Burgundy into his hands: the like offer made he also to Monsieur de Saint Pray, then Ambassador in Piemont for the King. Againe, at his returne having his men of armes lying in the Countie of Marle, he offered the King that so soone as he should be in campe with his Master,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

he would not faile either to kill him, or take him prisoner ; CHAPTER
shewing withall the maner how he would doe it, which was XIII
this. The Duke rode often about his campe to view it, A discourse
mounted upon a little nagge, and very slenderly accompanied, of the fault
at some such time this Earle said he would assault him, and the Duke of
execute his enterprise. He made yet also another offer to Burgundie
the King, namely, if the King and the Duke met together committed in
in battell, to turne with his men of armes on the Kings side, delivering the
under condition that the King would grant him certaine Constable to
demands. The King detested much the treason of this man, the King con-
and of a noble courage advertised the Duke of his practises trarie to his
by the Lord of Contay above mentioned. Notwithstanding safe conduct.
the Duke would not credit the message, (supposing that the
King sent him this advertisement to some other end) but
loved the Earle all the better. Wherefore you may see
how God had troubled his wits, in that he would give no
credit to those manifest demonstrations the King shewed
him. Well, this Earle of Campobache was not so false
and traiterous : but Iames Galeot was as true and
trusty, who lived many yeers, and died with
great honor and renowme.

THE FIFT BOOKE

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swissers, was overthrowen at the straighthes of the mountaines neere to Granson.



THE Duke of Burgundy having conquered the Duchy of Lorraine, and received Saint Quintins, Han and Bohain, with all the Constables goods of the King, treated with him of a finall peace: for accomplishment whereof they two resolved to meete upon a bridge built over a river, like to that made at Piquigny, at the enterview of the Kings of England and Fraunce. About the which meeting messengers passed to and fro, so far forth that the Duke was once purposed to dismisse the greatest part of his armie, to the end his men (being in very evill order, as well because of the siege of Nuz, as also of this small war in Lorraine) might refresh themselves: and the rest to put in garrison into certaine of the Earle of Romonts places, neere to the townes of Berne and Fribourg; upon the which he was fully resolved to make war, because they had invaded his dominions while he was before Nuz, had holpen to take the countie of Ferrette from him (as you have heard) and had also conquered from the Earle of Romont part of his cuntrye. The King earnestly pressed him to come to the meeting appointed, to leave these poore Swissers in peace, and to refresh his

PHILIP DE COMMINES

armie. The Swissers also seeing him approach so neere them, sent their ambassadors to him, offering to restore all that they had taken from the Earle of Romont, who on the other side pressed him earnestly to succour him in person : whereupon the Duke altered his minde, and determined to march against them, leaving that course which in all mens opinions seemed best, considering both the time of the yeere, and the state of his armie. Further, it was agreed betweene the King and him, that for the Duchie of Lorraine they should not fall at variance.

The Duke departed out of Lorraine with this poore, wearie, and defeated armie, and entred into Burgundie, where the ambassadors of these ancient confederates of Almaine commonly called Swissers, repaired againe to him, making larger offers than before : for besides the restitution of the Earle of Romonts places, they offered to depart from all leagues that he should not allow of, especially their league with the King, and to enter into confederacie with him, and to serve him against the King with sixe thousand men well armed (and that for very small pay) as often as he should require : which offers he refused ; for God was fully purposed to bring him to destruction. In those countries are certaine townes called the new confederates, namely, Basill, Strasbourg, and divers other imperiall cities* situate neere the river of Rhene, which in times past had beene enimies to the Swissers in favour of Sigismond Duke of Austrich, whose confederates they were during the wars betweene the said Swissers and him. But now all these townes joined with the Swissers, and a league was made betweene them for ten yeeres, and peace also betweene Duke Sigismond and them : which league (as before you have heard) was concluded by the Kings procurement, earnest sute, and great expences, at the same time that the countie of Ferrette was taken from the Duke of Burgundie, and his lieutenant there called Peter Archambault beheaded at Basill. The onely cause of which inconvenience proceeded of this Archambault himselfe, which sure was a shrewd check to the Duke of Burgundy, being

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swissers, was overthrown at the straightes of the mountaines neere to Granson.

* These townes were Basill, Strasburg, Sleestac, Colmar, Sunggau and Brisgau.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

I

How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swissers, was overthrown at the straightes of the mountaines neere to Granson.

the very fountaine of all his other miseries. Wherefore a Prince that hath lately joined a strange countrie to his dominions, ought to be circumspect what governors he placeth there. For whereas subjects newly conquered ought to be curteously intreated, to have Iustice truely administred, and to be better used than under their former government: this Archambault did the cleane contrarie, for he used great violence and extortion; whereupon ensued utter destruction to himselfe, his Master, and many a good man besides.

This league above mentioned made by the Kings onely procurement, turned afterward to his great benefit, yea greater than the world weeneth, so far forth that for my part, I account it one of the wisest deeds that ever he did, and most to the damage of his enimies. For the Duke of Burgundy once destroyed, the King of France never found man afterward of his owne subjects that durst lift up his finger against him: for they sailed all with his winde. Wherefore it was a woorthy exploit to joine Duke Sigismond of Austrich and these new confederates in league with the Swissers, whose ancient enimies they had beene: and I warrant you it was never brought to passe without great expences and many voiajes.

After the Duke of Burgundy had put the Swissers from all hope of peace, they returned to advertise their confederates thereof, and to make preparation for defence. The Duke led his army into the countrey of Vaulx in Savoye, which the Swissers (as you have heard) had taken from the Lord of Romont. There he wan three or fower places belonging to Monseur de Chasteauguion, which the Swissers held, and negligently defended. From thence he remooved and laid his siege before a towne called Granson,* belonging also to the said Lord of Chasteauguion, within the which were eight or nine hundred Swissers† choice men: for because the place was neere their countrey they had manned it well.

* He laid his siege before Granson the 12 of Februarie 1476, beginning the yeere at New yeeres tide with 50000 men, and 500 peeces of artillerie.—*Annal. Burgund.*

† Others write but 400.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

The Dukes force was reasonable great, for divers bands came daily to him out of Lombardy, and the subjects also of this house of Savoy were in pay with him. He loved strangers better than his owne subjects, notwithstanding that he might have levied in his owne dominions great force of good soldiers: but the Constables death together with certaine other conceits he had in his head, caused him to mistrust his own people. His artillerie was marvellous strong, and he lay in great pompe and triumph in his campe, to shew his magnificencie to the ambassadors that came to him out of Italy and Almaine: for the which purpose also he had brought with him all his best jewels and plate, and great abundance of all kinde of furniture. Moreover he had many phansies in his head touching the Duchie of Milan, where he trusted shortly to have great intelligence. After he had besieged this towne of Granson, and battered it with the canon certaine daies, they yeilded to his mercy,* and he put them all cruelly to death. The Swissers were assembled, but in small number, as divers of them have told me: for they are not able to levie so great force in their countrey as the world supposeth, and at that time much lesse than now, because sithence most part of them have forsaken their husbandry and given themselves to armes. Further, of their confederates fewe were with them, bicause they were forced to succor the place in haste; but so soon as they were abroad in campe, they heard of their companions death. The Duke contrary to their opinion whose advise he asked, determined to meete them at the entrie of the mountaines where they yet lay, greatly to his owne disadvantage: for he was encamped in a place very well seated for the battel, being fortified on the one side with his artillery, and on the other with a lake; so that in all apparance they could not have endomaged him. He had sent a hundred archers before him to keepe a strait directly over against the mountaine where the Swissers lay, and marched forward himselfe, and his enemies encountred him, the greatest part of his armie

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swissers, was overthrowen at the straighes of the mountaines neere to Granson.

* Others write that they would not yeeld, unlesse the Duke would receive them to his mercie which he did, and yet after put them cruelly to death.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundie mak-
ing war upon
the Swissers,
was over-
thrown at
the straightes
of the moun-
taines neere
to Granson.

being yet in the plaine. The first rankes of his men thought to retire to joyne with the rest ; but those that were behinde, supposing these to flie, began to turne their backs, and by little and little the Dukes army retired towards his campe ; some of them valiantly behaving themselves. But to be short, when they drew neere to their campe, they never stood to defence, but fled all.* So that the Almaines wan the Dukes campe, his artillery, all his tents and pavilions and his mens also, (whereof there was great abundance) and other riches and treasures infinite:† for nothing was saved but the men onely. Moreover the Duke lost heere all his goodly jewels, notwithstanding in this battell were slaine onely seven men of armes ; all the rest fled, and himselfe also. A man may justlier say of him that he lost this day honor and reputation, than of King Iohn of Fraunce, who valiantly defending himselfe, was taken prisoner by the Englishmen at the battell of Poictiers.

This is the first misfortune that ever happened to this Duke : for all his other enterprises turned him either to honor or profit. But what a deadly wound received he this day by following his owne braine, and despising good advise ! what damage received his house hereby ! in how miserable estate is it yet, and shall be we know not how long ! how many men became his enemies, and declared themselves against him that the day before spake him faire, and temporized with him ! And for what quarrell began this war ! forsooth for a lode of sheepes skins taken by the Earle of Romont from a Swisser passing through his cuntry. Sure if God had not utterly abandoned the Duke of Burgundie, it is not to be thought he would have put himselfe into so great danger for so small a trifle, considering both the offers made him, and the men he had to do with, by vanquishing whom he could obtaine neither riches nor honor. For at that time the Swissers as touching their valor were not

* This battell was fought on Saturday the second of Aprill or of March as some say ; the Swissers at this battell were not above 5000 and the most harquebusiers.—*Annal. Burgund.*

† All that the Duke lost that day was valued at three millions of crownes.—*Annal. Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

esteemed as they be now, and their povertie was so great, that a Knight of their countrie, who was one of their first ambassadors to the Duke, told me, that among divers other reasons he used to dissuade him from this warre, this was one: that by conquering them he could gaine nothing, bicause their countrie was barren and poore, and void of all good prisoners, so far forth that he thought verily if all their countrie men were taken, they should not be able to pay a raunsome to the value of the spurres and bridle bits in his campe.

But to returne to the battell: the King being immediately advertised of all that was happened, by the sundrie spies and messengers he had abroad in the countrie, most of the which were strangers; rejoyced much at these newes, and sorrowed onely that so few were slaine. Further, bicause of these affaires he lay at Lions, to the end he might the sooner be advertised of all that happened, and the better counterminne all such enterprises as the Duke had in his head. For the King being a wise Prince feared least he should joine the Swissers to him by force. As touching the house of Savoy, the Duke disposed thereof as of his owne: the Duke of Milan was in league with him: King Rene of Sicilie was fully bent to have put the countrie of Provence into his hands. So that if his affaires had received good successe, he should have held under his dominion all that lieth betweene the west and east seas, and have so brideled the subjects of this realme, that they could have stirred no way out of Fraunce but by sea without his permission: Savoy, Provence, and Lorraine being under his subjection. To every one of these Princes the King sent ambassadors. The one, namely the Duches of Savoy was his sister, but friend to the Duke of Burgundie to the uttermost of hir power. The other, to wit, King Rene of Sicilie was his unkle, who hardly gave his ambassadors audience, but referred all matters to the Duke of Burgundie. The King sent also to these confederates of Almaine, but with great difficultie; for bicause the passages were stopped, he was forced to send beggers, pilgrims, and such kinde of men. The said confederates gave him a proud answer, that unlesse

CHAPTER I

How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swissers, was overthrown at the straightes of the mountaines neere to Granson.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER I

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundy mak-
ing war, etc.

he would declare himselfe for them, they would make peace with the Duke, and joine with the Burgundians against him : which notwithstanding that he greatly feared, yet thought he it not time as yet to discover himselfe the Dukes enemye, doubting also least some of his messengers whom he sent about the countrie should be taken, and so all his practises discovered.

CHAPTER II

How after the overthrow at Granson, the Duke of Milan, King Rene of Sicilie, the Duches of Savoy and others, departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundy.



LET us now see how the world changed after the battell, and how the courage of the Duke of Burgundy and his confederates altered, and withall how wisely the King governed his affaires. For this shall be a goodly example for yoong Princes that attempt foolish enterprises, not considering what may ensue therof: and despise the counsel of those whose advise they ought to use, notwithstanding that themselves be utterly void of al experience. First, the Duke himself sent the Lord of Contay to the King with a lowly and humble message, contrarie both to his accustomed maner and to his nature. Marke heere how suddenly he was changed even in a moment: he desired the King faithfully to keepe the truce, and excused himselfe for not comming to the meeting appointed at Auxerre, promising shortly to meete him there or else where at his pleasure. The King received the said Contay very honorably, assuring him of all his demands: for as yet he thought it not time to declare himselfe, bicause he knew well the loyalty of the Dukes subjects to be such to their Prince, that he should

PHILIP DE COMMINES

soone be affote againe. Wherefore he was desirous to see the end of this war, without giving occasion to either partie to make peace. But notwithstanding the good entertainment the King gave the said Contay, yet heard he many scoffes and taunts in the towne: for ballads were openly sung in the commendation of the vanquishers, and reproch of his folly that was vanquished.

So soone as Galeas Duke of Milan (then living) understood of this adventure, he rejoiced not a little thereat, notwithstanding that he were the D. of Burgundies confederate: for he was entred into league with him for feare onely, seeing the Duke so highly favored in Italie. Wherefore the said D. of Milan sent in all haste to the King a citizen of Milan, a man of small apparance, who by mediation of others was directed to me, and brought me a letter from the Duke: whereof when I had advertised the King, he commanded me to heare his message. For he would not give him audience himselfe, bicause he was displeased with the Duke of Milan for abandoning his league with him, to enter into confederacie with the Duke of Burgundie, and the rather for that his wife was the Queenes sister. The said ambassadors message was, that his Master the Duke of Milan was advertised that the King and the Duke of Burgundie should meete to conclude a finall peace and a league greatly to his Masters discontentation, and divers slender reasons he alleaged to dissuade the K. from the conclusion thereof. But his last perswasion was, that if the King would be bound to make neither peace nor truce with the Duke of Burgundie, his Master would presently give him 100000 ducats. When the King heard the substance of his ambassage, he caused him to come to his presence, my selfe onely being with him, and said thus briefly unto him: Heere is Monseur d'Argenton that advertiseth me thus and thus: tell your Master I will none of his money; for I leavie once in a yeere thrise as much as he. And as touching peace or war, I will dispose thereof at my pleasure: but if your Master repent him that he hath forsaken his league with me, to enter into confederacie with the Duke of Burgundy, tell him I am contented that the league betweene us shall continue as it was first

CHAPTER II

How after the overthrow at Granson, the Duke of Milan, King Rene of Sicilie, the Duches of Savoy and others, departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundy.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How after the overthrow at Granson, the Duke of Milan, King Rene of Sicilie, the Duches of Savoy and others, departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundy.

concluded. The ambassador gave him most humble thanks, perceiving him by his answer to be no covetous Prince, and desired that it would please him to cause the said league betweene him and his Master to be proclaimed in manner and forme as it was first concluded, saying that he had power to binde his Master to agree thereunto. The King was contented, and after dinner it was proclaimed, and an ambassador forthwith dispatched to Milan, where the league was againe proclaimed with great solemnitie. This is one blowe adversitie gave the Duke of Burgundie: for heere is one mightie Prince suddenly fallen from him; who had sent a great and solemne ambassage to enter into league with him but three weekes before.

King Rene of Sicilie was purposed to make the Duke of Burgundy his heire, and to put Provence into his hands, so far forth that Monseur de Chasteauguion that now is, and divers others were already gone into Piemont with 20000 crownes to levie men to take possession of the said countrey for the Duke of Burgundy: but upon the newes of this overthrow they fled, and hardly saved themselves; and as touching their money, the Lord of Bresse being then in those parts tooke it. The Duches of Savoy hearing these newes sent word thereof immediately to King Rene of Sicilie, extenuating the overthrow, and willing him to be of good cheere, notwithstanding this small losse: but her messengers being Provincials were intercepted, and thereby King Renes practise with the Duke of Burgundy discovered. Whereupon the King sent forces to the frontires of Provence,* and ambassadors to the King of Sicilie, desiring him to come to him and assuring him of good entertainment, which if he refused to do, he threatned by force to prevent this inconvenience. Wherefore in the ende the King of Sicilie agreed to repaire to Lions to the King, where he was honorably received and well feasted. I was with the King and heard the words that passed betweene them at their first meeting: which being ended, Iohn Cosse Seneschal of Provence, a

* For Provence was held of the crowne of Fraunce, and therefore the K. would not suffer his enimie the Duke of Burgundy to possesse it.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

woorthie gentleman and of a good house in the Realme of Naples, said thus to the King: Sir, you must not marvell if the King my Master your Uncle offered to make the Duke of Burgundie his heire: for he was counselled thereunto by his servants, especially by my selfe, because you being his sisters sonne and his nephew, have done him so great wrong in taking from him the castels of Bar and Angiers, and handled him so ill in all his other affaires. Wherefore we meant to enter into this practise with the Duke of Burgundie, to the ende that you hearing these newes might indevor your selfe to repaire the injuries you have done us, and acknowledge in the end the King our Master to be your Uncle: but we never minded to bring this treatie to a full conclusion. The King being a wise Prince tooke this practise in good part, which the said Iohn Cosse uttered indeed simply as it was meant, for himselfe was the onely contriver thereof. In short space all controversies between them were ended, and money was given to the King of Sicilie and his servants. Further, the King feasted him with the Ladies, and used him in all points according to his owne humor as neere as he could; and of the Duke of Burgundy no more mention was made, but he was utterly abandoned of King Rene. This is another mishap that ensued this small adversitie.

The Duches also of Savoye who of long time was thought great enemie to the King her brother, sent one Monseur de Montaigny (who was addressed to me) with a secret message to reconcile her selfe to the King, alleaging divers reasons why shee was fallen out with him, and wherein she stood in feare of him. Notwithstanding she was a verie wise Ladie and the Kings sister indeed: for it appeared that she meant to temporize as he did, to see what would happen further to the Duke before she would abandon him. The King gave her better words than he was accustomed, and sent the messengers very good answers by me, willing him to desire his Mistres to come into Fraunce; and thus her man was dispatched. See heere another of the Duke of Burgundies confederats practising to forsake him. Besides this, through the whole countrey of Almaine enemies began to declare themselves against him, and all the Imperiall townes, as

CHAPTER

II

How after the overthrow at Granson, the Duke of Milan, King Rene of Sicilie, the Duches of Savoy and others, departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundy.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER II

How after the overthrow at Granson, the Duke of Milan, King Rene of Sicilie, the Duches of Savoy and others, departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundy.

Nuremberg, Francfort and divers others, joined themselves with these old and new confederats of Swisserland : so that all the world seemed to be perswaded the doing of him harme to be good service to God.

The spoiles of his campe enriched marvellously these poore Swissers, who at the first knew not what treasures were fallen into their hands, especially those of the ruder sort : one of the goodliest and richest pavilions in the world was torne al to peeces. There were that sold a number of silver plates and dishes for two souse a peece, supposing them to be pewter. The Dukes great diamond being the goodliest jewell in Christendome, at the which hung a great orient pearle, was taken up by a Swisser, who put it againe into the boxe where it was kept and threw it under a cart ; but after returned to seeke it, and sold it to a Priest for a guldon, who sent it to the Lords of their countrey, of whom he received three franks for it. They wan also three goodly ballais rubies, called the three brethren, because they were in all points like, and another great ballaise rubie called La hotte, with a goodly stone called the round ball of Flaunders, the greatest and fairest stones in the world. Other infinite treasures they gained also ; which since have taught them to know what is money woorth. Further, the victories they obtained, the account the King made of them ever after, and the summes of money he bestowed upon them, have marvellously enriched them. Every ambassador of theirs that came to him at the beginning of these warres, received goodly presents of him either in money or plate, wherby he asswaged the displeasure they had conceived against him for not declaring himselfe the Duke of Burgundies enemy : for he sent them home well contented, with full purses and clothed in silkes and velvets. Then began he also to promise them a yeerely pension of 40000 guldons, which afterward he truely paid, but the second battell was past first. Of this pension twenty thousand guldons were for the townes, and the other twenty thousand for the governors of the townes. And I thinke verily I should not lie, if I said that betweene the first battell of Granson and the King our Masters death, these townes and governors of the

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Swissers received out of Fraunce above a million of florens. CHAPTER
When I name townes I meane but these fower: Berne, II
Lucerne, Friburge, and Zurich, together with their cantons How after the
situate in the mountaines. Swisse also is one of their overthrow
cantons though but a village. Yet have I seene an am- at Granson,
bassador of that village clothed in very simple apparell etc.
give his advise in every matter as well as any of
the rest. The other two cantons are called
Soleurre and Underwalde.

CHAPTER III

How the Swissers vanquished the Duke of
Burgundie in battell neere to the
towne of Morat.



OW to returne to the Duke of Burgundie,
he levied men on all sides, so that within
three weekes he had assembled a mighty
armie: for a great number of his souldiers
that fled the day of the battell, repaired
againie to his campe. He lay at Losanna*
in Savoy, where you (my Lord of Vienna)
assisted him with your counsell in a danger-

ous sicknes he was fallen into, for sorow and grieve of the
dishonor he had received, which so much altered him that I
thinke after this battell of Granson, his wits were never so
fresh nor so good as before.† Of this new army he now
levied I speake upon the Prince of Tarentes report, who
made relation thereof to the King in my presence. For you

* The Duke after the battell of Granson retired first to Ioingne,
from thence to Noseret, and then to Losanna.—La Marche.

† This prooveth both *Vitia animi scatere ad corpus, et animam sequi
temperaturam corporis*, which proceedeth of the great sympathie be-
tweene the mind and bodie. Livie lib. 1. decad. 1, writeth thus:
'Longinquus morbus, Tulli mores prorsus immutavit.'

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER III

How the
Swissers
vanquished
the Duke of
Burgundie in
battell neere
to the towne
of Morat.

shall understand that the said Prince about a yeere before the battell, was come to the Duke of Burgundie with a goodly traine in hope to marrie his daughter and heire. And notwithstanding that his behaviour, apparell and traine shewed him indeed to be a Kings sonne, and his father the King of Naples to have spared no cost in setting him foorth: yet did the Duke but dissemble with him, and fed at the selfe same time with faire promises the Duches of Savoye putting her in hope of this marriage for her sonne. Wherefore the Prince of Tarente called Don Frederick of Arragon and his Counsell misliking these delaies, sent to the King our Master a herault of armes a wise fellow, who humbly besought him to graunt the Prince his safe conduct to passe through his Realme to the King his father who had sent for him, which he easily obtained of the King, because it seemed to tende to the Duke of Burgundies dishonor and discredit. Notwithstanding before the Princes messenger returned to his Master, a great number of these confederated townes were assembled and encamped hard by the Duke of Burgundie. The said Prince obeying the King his fathers commandement tooke his leave of the Duke the night before the second battell was fought, for at the first he was present, and behaved himselfe like a valiant gentleman. Some say (my Lord of Vienna) that he used your advise heerein: for when he was heere with the King I have heard both him and the Duke of Ascoly commonly called the Earle Iulio, and divers others affirme, that you wrote in Italy of the first and second battell, and told what should ensue thereof, long before they were fought.

At the Princes departure, great forces of these confederate townes were incamped (as I have said) hard by the Duke of Burgundy, and came to give him battell, meaning to levie the siege he held before Morat* a little towne neere to Berne, belonging to the Earle of Romont. The said townes had in their armie (as some that were at the battell have

* The Duke laid his siege before Morat (called in Dutch Murten) the 9 of Iune 1476 with 40000 men,—*Annal. Burgund.*, and so had the Swissers also,—*Idem*. Meyer saith the Duke had but 24000 and the Swissers 30000.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

informed me) 35000 men, whereof fower thousand were horsemen, the rest footemen well chosen and well armed; that is to say, 11000 pikes, 10000 halbards, and ten thousand harquebusiers. Their whole force was not yet assembled, and these onely fought the battell, neither needed any more helpe. The Duke of Lorraine arrived at their campe a little before the battell, with a very small traine, which his comming turned afterward to his great profit: for the Duke of Burgundy held then all his countrey, and a happy turne it was for him that they waxed wearie of him in our Court, as al those that maintaine a noble man overthrowen usually do; notwithstanding he never understood thus much. The King gave him a smal summe of money; and sent a good troupe of men of armes to conveigh him safe through Lorraine; who brought him to the frontiers of Almaine, and then returned home. This Duke of Lorraine had not only lost his Duchie of Lorraine, the County of Vaudement, and the greatest part of Barrois (the rest being withheld from him by the King, so that he had nothing left:) but his subjects also, yea his household servants had voluntarily done homage to the Duke of Burgundy: so that his estate seemed almost irrecoverable. Notwithstanding God remaineth alwaies judge to determine such causes at his pleasure.

After the Duke of Lorraine was passed through Lorraine into Almaine, and had journeied a few daies, he arrived at the Almaines campe with small force three or fower howers before the battell began: which voiage (as before I have said) turned to his great honor and profit; for if his successe had beene bad, I thinke he should have found but cold entertainment in any place. At the very instant that he arrived, the battels marched on both sides. For the confederates had lien in campe three daies or more in a strong place hard by the Duke of Burgundie, who was at the very first discomfited and put to flight: neither had he so good lucke heere as in the former battell, wherein he lost but seven men of armes; which happened bicause the Swissers had then no horsemen: but at this battell neere to Morat (whereof I now speake) they had fower thousand horsemen

CHAPTER III

How the
Swissers
vanquished
the Duke of
Burgundie in
battell neere
to the towne
of Morat.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

III

How the
Swissers
vanquished
the Duke of
Burgundie in
battell neere
to the towne
of Morat.

well mounted, the which pursued fiercely the Burgundians that fled. Further, their battell of footemen joined also with the Dukes battell, which was mightie and strong: for besides great force of his owne subjects, and certaine English men that served him; divers bands were newly come to him out of Piemont and the Duchie of Milan. So that the Prince of Tarente at his being heere with the King told me, that he never saw in his life so goodly an armie: for himselfe and divers others by his commandement numbring the force as it passed over a bridge, had told to the number of 23000 soldiers taking pay, besides those that followed the armie and were appointed to serve at the artillerie; which force me thinke was great, notwithstanding that many talke of millions, and report they wot not what, making armies five times greater than they are. The Lord of Contay who came to the King immediately after the battell, confessed in my hearing, that the Duke his Master lost there 8000 soldiers taking pay, besides the stragglers: so that the whole number of the dead (for ought I could ever learne to the contrarie) amounted to 18000,* which is not incredible, considering both the great force of horsemen that divers Princes of Almaine had there; and also the great number of men that were slaine in the Dukes campe, lying still at the siege before Morat.† The Duke fled into Burgundie utterly discomforted, and not without cause; and held himselfe close in a towne called La Riviere, where he assembled all the forces he could. The Swissers followed the chase but that night, and then retired without further pursute of their enimies.

* Others write 17000, others 22700, others 26000, and of the Swissers but 50. Meyer saith the Duke lost 14000.

† For better understanding of this place, we must know that after the Dukes vaward was overthrowen, they within Morat issued forth and joined with the Duke of Lorraine, and entred perforce the Duke of Burgundies campe lying before the said towne of Morat, where they made a great slaughter, as our Author heere maketh mention.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER IV

How after the battell of Morat the Duke of Burgundie tooke the Duchesse of Savoy, and how she was delivered and sent home into hir countrie by the Kings meanes.



HIS misfortune drave the Duke into utter despaire: for he well perceived by the sequele of the first battell at Granson (between the which and this second there was but three weekes space*) that all his friends would abandon him. Wherefore by the advise of those that were about him he made the Duchesse of Savoy and

one of hir children now Duke of Savoy, to be led by force into Burgundy: but hir eldest sonne was conveyed away by certaine of hir servants; for those that committed this outrage did it in great feare and upon a sudden. The cause that mooved the Duke heerunto was partly feare, least the Duchesse should retire to the King hir brother; and partly bicause all these misfortunes were happened to him (as he said) for succouring this house of Savoy. Thus was the Duchesse led to the castell of Rouvre neere to Dyjon, where a small garde was appointed over hir. Notwithstanding every body that would, went to visite hir, and among others the Lord of Chasteauguion, and the Marquesse of Rotelin that now are, betweene the which two and two of the Duchesses daughters the Duke of Burgundie endeavored to make two marriages, which afterward

* I suppose, yea I assure my selfe that the Printer hath heere made a great fault, and that these 'three weekes,' must be read 'three moneths.' For the battell of Granson was fought the 2 of March or April, and this battell the 22 of Iune which is much more then three weekes, and agreeth well with three moneths, and so also *Annales Burgundie* report the time.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

How after
the battell
of Morat the
Duke of Bur-
gundie tooke
the Duchesse
of Savoy, and
how she was
delivered and
sent home into
hir countrie
by the Kings
meanes.

were accomplished. Hir eldest sonne called Philibert then Duke of Savoy, was led by those that stole him away to Chambery, where the Bishop of Geneva lay, who was also of the house of Savoy. This Bishop was altogether given to sloth and wantonnes, and governed wholly by a Knight of the Rhodes:* but the King so practised with him, and the Knight his governor, that they put into his hands the said Duke of Savoy, and a little brother of his called Le Prothonostaire, together with the castels of Chambery and Montmelian, and held also to the Kings use another castell where all the Duchesses jewels lay. When the Duchesse was come to Rouvre accompanied with all hir women, and a great number of hir servants; she perceiving the Duke of Burgundie to be busied in levyng men, and those that garded hir not to stand in such feare of their Master as they were accustomed: determined to send to the King hir brother to reconcile hir selfe to him, and to desire him to deliver her out of this thraldome. For notwithstanding that she feared much to fall into his hands, bicause of the great and long hatred that had been betweene them: yet the miserie wherein she was, forced her in the end thereunto. Wherefore she sent to him a gentleman of Piemont called Riverol being steward of hir house, who was directed to me. When I had heard his message and advertised the King thereof, he commanded him to come to his presence: and after he had given him audience, answered, that he would not forsake his sister in this extremitie notwithstanding their former variance: and that if she would enter into league with him, he would send for hir by the governor of Champaigne, called Master Charles of Amboise Lord of Chaumont. The said Riverol tooke his leave of the King, and returned with speede to his Mistres, who rejoiced much at this newes. Notwithstanding she sent yet againe to the King upon the returne of the first message, to desire a safe conduct and assurance therein, that she should depart out of Fraunce into Savoy, and that the Duke hir sonne and his little brother, together with the places which the King

* The French hath *Un Commandeur de Rhodes*, what this *Commandeur* is looke in the notes of the 9 Chapter of the 7 booke.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

held, should be restored to hir: and further that he would helpe to maintaine hir authoritie in Savoy; and she for hir part would forsake all confederacies, and enter into league with him. All the which hir request, the King granted, and immediatly sent a man purposely to the said Lord of Chaumont about this enterprise: the which was well devised and executed accordingly. For the said Lord of Chaumont, went himselve peaceably through the countrie with a good band of men to Rouvre, from whence he led the Duchesse of Savoy and all hir traine to the next place of the Kings dominions. Before the dispatch of the Duchesses last messenger, the King was departed from Lions, where he had lien halfe a yeere to overthrow covertly the Duke of Burgundies enterprises without breaking the truce. But if a man consider well the Dukes estate, the King made sharper war upon him by letting him run himselve out of breth, and privily stirring up enimes against him, than if he had openly proclaimed war. For immediately upon the proclamation, the Duke would have relinquished his enterprise, and then all these mishaps had never fallen upon him.

The King being departed from Lions continued still his journey, and from Rouenne went downe the river of Loire to Tours, where at his arrivall he received newes of his sisters libertie; whereat he rejoiced not a little, and sent for hir with all speede to come to him, and gave order for hir charges upon the way. Moreover, when she drew neere, he sent a great company of Gentlemen to waite upon hir, and went himselve to receive hir as far as the gate of Plessis du Parc; where at their first meeting with a merie countenance he said unto hir: Lady of Burgundy you are hartely welcome. Then she knowing by his countenance that he did but sport, made him a wise answer saying: Sir I am a true French woman, and ready to obey you in all you shall command. The King led hir to hir chamber, where she was very honorably entertained. True it is that he desired to send hir home as speedily as might be, whereof she was no lesse desirous than he: for she was a very wise woman, and they were well acquainted the one with the others conditions.

CHAPTER IV

How after the battell of Morat the Duke of Burgundie tooke the Duchesse of Savoy, and how she was delivered and sent home into hir countrie by the Kings meanes.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IV

How after the battell of Morat the Duke of Burgundie tooke the Duchesse of Savoy, and how she was delivered and sent home into hir countrie by the Kings meanes.

The whole charge of this matter was committed to me, first to provide money to defray hir in hir returne: secondarily to seeke silkes and velvets for hir: and lastly to put in writing the articles of their new league and amitie. Moreover, the King indeavored to dissuade hir from the mariage of hir two daughters above mentioned; but she made her excuse by the daughters themselves, who were obstinate therein: which when the King perceived he yeelded unto them, and in mine opinion they were well bestowed. After the Duchesse had sojourned at Plessis seaven or eight daies, the King and she sware thence forth to be friends each to other, and writings touching their amitie were interchangeably delivered betwene them: which done, the Duchesse tooke hir leave of the King, who caused hir safely to be conveighed into hir owne countrey, and restored unto hir, hir children, all the places that were in his hands, all hir jewels, and all that belonged to hir. They were both glad of their departure, and lived ever after as brother and sister even till their death.

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Burgundie lived as it were solitarie the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine recovered his towne of Nancy.



UT to proceed in this history, I must now returne to the Duke of Burgundy, who after the battell of Morat, which was in the yeere 1476, fled to the frontiers of Burgundy and kept himselfe close in a towne called La Riviere; where he lay more than six weeks with intent to levy yet another army, wherein notwithstanding he proceeded but slowly: for he lived as it were solitarily,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

in such sort that all his dooings seemed (as you shall heere-after perceive) rather to proceed of obstinacie than any reason. For the greefe he had conceived of the first overthrow at Granson so inwardly vexed him, that he fell into a dangerous sicknes; which so altered his complexion, that whereas before his choler and naturall heate was so great that he dranke no wine, but Tysan every morning ordinarily, and ate conserve of roses to refresh him: now this sorow and greefe had so much weakned his spirits, that he was forced to drinke the strongest wine without water, that could be gotten. And further, to reduce the blood to the hart, his Phisitions were faine to put burning flaxe into boxing glasses, and so to set them on his breast neere to the hart. Of this his sicknes (my Lord of Vienna) you can better write than my selfe, because all the time thereof you were continually with him to assist him with your advise, and caused him also to shave his beard, which before he ware long. But in mine opinion after this sicknes his wits were never so fresh as before, but much weakned and decaid. Such are the passions of those that being fallen into great misfortunes seeke not the true remedies, especially of proud and disdainfull Princes. For in such a case the best and soveraignest remedy is to have recourse to God, to bethinke our selves if we have in any point offended him, to humble our selves before him, and to acknowledge our faults: for he it is that determineth these causes, and to him no man may impute any error. The second remedy in such a case is to conferre with some familiar friend, to reveale boldly unto him all our passions, and not to be ashamed to utter our greefe to our deere friend: for that easeth and comforteth the minde, and by talking thus in counsell with a faithfull friend, the spirits recover their former vertue and strength. The third remedy in such a case is to fall to some exercise and bodily labor: for seeing we are men such pensiveness and greefe can not be passed over without great passions either publike or private.* But the Duke tooke the cleane contrarie course, for he hid himselfe and kept himselfe solitary; wheras he

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Burgundie lived as it were solitarie the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine recovered his towne of Nancy.

* Cardanus giveth three natural remedies or purgations of sorrow: fasting, weeping, sighing.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER

V

How the Duke of Burgundie lived as it were solitarilie the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine recovered his towne of Nancy.

should have put to flight al such melancholike austerity. Further, bicause he was a terrible Prince to his servants, none durst presume to give him counsell or comfort, but suffered him to follow his owne sense, fearing if they had gone about to perswade with him, it might have turned them to displeasure.

During this sixe weekes space or thereabout that he sojourned at La Riviere with small force, (which was no marvell having lost two so great battels) many new enimies arose against him, his friends fell from him, his subjects being defeated and discomfited began to murmur and despise him, which is a thing usuall (as before I have said) in such adversities. Further, many places in Lorraine were either razed or woon from him, namely Vaudemont, Espinall, and divers others, and on every side enimies prepared to invade him, and the miserabest slaves were the hardiest. In this hurliburly the Duke of Lorraine assembled a small force and came before Nancy: of the little townes thereabout he held the greatest part; notwithstanding the Burgundians kept still Pont-à-mousson fower leagues distant from Nancy.

Among those that were besieged within the said towne of Nancy, was a worshipfull Knight called Monsieur de Beures of the house of Croy, who had under him certaine harquebusiers; within the towne was also an English Captaine though but of meane parentage, yet very valiant called Colpin,* whom my selfe preferred with certaine others of the garrison of Guisnes to the Dukes service. This Colpin had within the towne under his charge a band of three hundred English men, the which grew wearie of the siege (though they were troubled neither with batterie nor approaches) bicause the Duke made no more haste to succour them. And to say the truth, he committed a foule oversight in that he approached no neerer to Lorraine, but lay thus in a place far off and where he could do no service: sith it stood him more upon to defend that he had already gotten, than to invade the Swissers in hope to revenge his losses.

* This Colpin the new copie calleth throughout Cohin, but the old Colpin, and La Marche, Iehanin Collepin, wherefore I have beene bould to amend it according to the old copie.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

But his obstinacie turned him to great inconvenience, in that he would aske no mans advise, but trusted wholly to his owne braine: for notwithstanding that they that were besieged, continually and earnestly solicited him to succour the place; yet lay he still upon no necessitie, at the said towne of Riviere sixe weekes or thereabout; whereas if he had done otherwise, he might easily have releevd the towne. For the Duke of Lorraine had no force before it, and by defending the countrie of Lorraine the passage from his other seniories into Burgundy should ever have beene open through Luxembourg and Lorraine. Wherefore if his wits had beene such then as before time I had knowen them, he would sure have used greater diligence.

During the time that they within Nancy looked daily for succours, Colpin above mentioned, Captaine of the English band within the towne, was slaine with a canon shot greatly to the Duke of Burgundies prejudice. For the presence of one man alone endued with vertue and wisdom, though but of base race and parentage, oftentimes delivereth his Master from great inconveniences. As touching the which point I commend above all others the wisdom of the King our Master: for never Prince feared so much the Losse of his men as he did. Colpin being thus slaine, the English men within the towne began to mutine and despaire of succours: for neither knew they of how small power the Duke of Lorraine was, nor what goodly meanes the Duke of Burgundie had to levie new forces. Further, because of long time the English men had made no wars out of their owne Realme, they understood not what the siege of a towne meant. Wherefore they resolved in the ende to parliament, and told Monseur de Beures captaine of the towne, that if he would not fall to composition with the Duke of Lorraine, they would compound without him. He notwithstanding that he were a trustie Knight lacked courage, and fell to intreaties and perswasions; whereas in mine opinion stouter language would better have prevailed: but God had already disposed hereof. If the towne had beene held but three daies longer, it had been releevd. To conclude, the said de Beures agreed to the English men, and yelded the place to the Duke of

CHAPTER V

How the Duke of Burgundie lived as it were solitarilie the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine recovered his towne of Nancy.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER Lorraine*: and so departed he and all that were within it
V with bag and baggage.

How the Duke of Burgundie lived as it were solitarilie the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine recovered his towne of Nancy.

The next day or at the furthest within two daies after the towne was yeilded, the Duke of Burgundie arrived there well accompanied considering his estate: for certaine bands were come to him from Luxembourg, which had beene levied in his other seniores. Before Nancy the Duke of Lorraine and he met; but no great exploit was done, because the Duke of Lorrains force was small. The said Duke of Burgundy continuing still his former enterprise, determined to lay his siege againe before Nancy: wherefore better it had beene for him not to have delaide so long upon selfewill the succouring of the towne. But God giveth such extraordinarie minds to Princes when he is purposed to alter their good successe. If the Duke would have followed good advise, and manned well the small places about the towne, he might easily in short space have recovered it: for it was unfurnished of victuals, and he had men ynow, yea too many to have held it in great distresse. In the meane time he might commodiously have refreshed and repaired his army, but he tooke the contrary course.

* Nancy was yeilded the 6 of October.—Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER VI

Of the Earle of Campobaches great treasons, and how he kept the Duke of Burgundie from hearing a gentleman that would have revealed them to him before he was put to death, and how the said Duke made no account of the advertisement the King sent him.



DURING the time the Duke of Burgundie held before Nancy, this siege, unfortunate to himselfe, to all his subjects, and to manie others whom this quarrell no way concerned : divers of his men began to practise his destruction. For (as you have heard) many enimies were now risen against him on all sides, and among others Nicholas Earle of Campobache in the realm of Naples, whence he was banished for the house of Anjous faction. This Earle after the death of Nicholas Duke of Calabria whom he served, having as I said before neither lands nor living ; was received with divers others of the said Duke of Calabrias servants into the Duke of Burgundies house, who at his first comming delivered him 40000 ducats in prest to goe into Italy to levy therewith fower hundred launces that were under the said Earles charge and paide by himselfe. From the which day forward even till this present he ever sought his Masters destruction, and now seeing him in this adversitie began to practise a fresh against him, both with the Duke of Lorraine and also with certaine of the Kings captaines and servants that lay in Champagne neere to the Dukes campe. To the Duke of Lorraine he promised so to order the matter, that this siege should take no effect. For he would finde meanes that such things as were necessarie both for the siege and batterie should be lacking ; which promise he was well able

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

Of the Earle
of Campo-
baches great
treasons.

to performe, for the principall charge thereof was committed to him; neither had any man so great authoritie in the army under the Duke of Burgundy as he. But his practises with the Kings captaines touched the quick neerer: for he continually promised them either to kill his Master or take him prisoner, demaunding for recompence thereof the charge of these fower hundred launces, twenty thousand crownes to be delivered him in ready money, and some good Earledome in Fraunce.

While this Earle was practising these treasons, certaine of the Duke of Lorraines gentlemen attempted to enter the towne of Nancy. Some of the which entred, and some were taken, among whom was one Cifron a gentleman borne in Provence, who was the onely man that entertained these practises betweene the Earle of Campobache and the said Duke of Lorraine. The D. of Burgundy presently commanded this Cifron to be hanged, alleaging that by the law of armes after a Prince hath laide his siege before a place and made his batterie, if any man attempt to enter to comfort those that are besieged he ought to dy. Yet is this law not practised in our wars which are much crueller then the wars of Italy or Spaine where it is put in use. But law or no law, the Duke would that in any wise this gentleman should die, who seeing no remedy, sent word to the Duke that if it would please him to give him audience he would reveale a secret to him that touched his life; whereof certaine gentlemen to whom he uttered this speech went to advertise the Duke: with whom at their arrivall they found the Earle of Campobache, come thither either by chaunce or of purpose to be alwaies at hand, fearing least Cifron whom he knew to be taken should reveale all his conspiracies: for he was privy to them all; and that was indeed the secret he would have discovered. The Duke made answeere to these gentlemen that brought him this message, that he used this delay only to save his life, commanding him to open the matter to them: upon the which word the Earle of Campobache laid hold, perswading the Duke that it should be best. For you shall understand that none of the Dukes counsell, neither any other persons were present with him at the debating of this

PHILIP DE COMMINES

matter, but this Earle onely who had charge of the whole army, and a Secretarie that was writing. The prisoner answered that he would utter it to no man but to the Duke onely: whereupon the Duke commanded him againe to be led to execution, and so he was. But upon the way thitherward he desired divers gentlemen to entreat the Duke their Master for him; affirming this to be such a secret as the Duke would not for a Duchy but know. Many that were acquainted with him pitied him, and went to desire the Duke to vouchsafe him the hearing. But this traiterous Earle, who kept the Dukes chamber (being of timber) so straightly that no man might enter in: refused the doore to these gentlemen, saying that the Duke had commanded him to be hanged with speed; and further sent divers messengers to the Provost to hasten the execution. Thus was this Cifron hanged to the Duke of Burgundies great prejudice, and better had it beene for him to have used lesse cruelty, and gently to have heard this gentleman; which if he had done, peradventure he had been yet living, his house flourishing, his dominions in safety, yea and much enlarged, considering the broiles that have hapned since in this realme.

But it is to be thought that God had otherwise disposed hereof, because of the dishonorable part the Duke had plaide the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce not long before. For you have already heard in this history how notwithstanding his safe conduct, he tooke him prisoner, delivered him to the King to put him to death, and sent also all the letters and writings he had of the said Constables serving for his processe. And although the Duke had just cause to hate him even to the death, and to procure his death for divers considerations too long to rehearse, (so that he might have done it without stayning his honor:) yet all the reasons that may be alleaged on his behalfe, cannot excuse his fault in that contrarie to his promise and honor, having given him a sufficient safe conduct, he tooke him and sold him for covetousnes, partly to recover the towne of S. Quintin with other the said Constables places, lands and goods; and partly to stay the King from hindering his enterprise

CHAPTER VI

Of the Earle
of Campo-
baches great
treasons.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

Of the Earle
of Campo-
baches great
treasons.

at Nancy when he first besieged it. For lying at that siege, after many delaies he delivered the Constable, fearing least the Kings army being in Champaigne would have hindered his said enterprise if he had done otherwise. For the King threatned him by his ambassadors, because it was agreed between them, that whether of them could first lay hands upon him, should deliver him to the other within eight daies, or put him to death. But the Duke had passed the terme of the Constables deliverie many daies as you have heard; so that the onely feare of losing Nancy, and the greedie desire of having it caused the Duke to deliver him to the King. But even as in this place of Nancy he committed this foule fault, and afterward also in the same place at the second siege put Cifron to death, refusing to heare him speake, as one having his eares stopped and wits troubled: even so in the selfe same place was himselfe deceived, and betrayed by him whom he most trusted, and peradventure justly punished for his false dealing with the Constable, in delivering him for covetousnes to have the said towne. But the judgement hereof appertaineth to God alone, neither speake I it to any other end but to declare this matter at large, and to shew how much a good Prince ought to eschew such false and faithlesse dealing, what counsell soever be given him thereunto. For oftentimes those that give a Prince such advise; do it either to flatter him, or bicause they dare not gainsay him: yet when the fact is committed, they are sorrie for it, knowing the punishment both of God and man that is like to ensue. But such counsellors are better far from a Prince than neere about him.

You have heard how God appointed this Earle of Campobache his deputie in this world, to take revenge of the Constables death committed by the Duke of Burgundie, in the selfe same place, and after the same manner, or rather a crueller. For even as the Duke contrarie to his safe conduct and the trust the Constable had reposed in him, delivered him to death: even so was himselfe betrayed by the trustiest man in his army (I meane by him whom he most trusted) and whom he had received into his service being old, poore,

PHILIP DE COMMINES

and destitute of living, and whom he yeerely entertained with an hundred thousand ducats, wherewith this Earle himselfe paid his men of armes, besides divers other great benefits that he had received at the Dukes hands. And when he first began to conspire his death he was going into Italy with 40000 ducats, which (as you have heard) he had received in prest of the Duke to levie therewith his men of armes. Moreover, the better to execute his traiterous enterprise, he practised in two places, first with a physition dwelling in Lyons called Master Simon of Pavia; and afterward with the Kings ambassador in Savoy, as before I have rehearsed. Againe at his returne out of Italy, his men of armes lying in certaine smal towns in the countie of Marle which is in Lannois, he began a new to practise against his Master, offering either to deliver into the Kings hands all the places he held: or when the King should be in battell against his Master, a privie token to be betweene them; upon the sight whereof he would turne with all his companie to the King against the Duke his Master. But this last overture pleased not the King. He offered yet further, so soone as his Master should be abroad with his army, either to take him prisoner or to kill him, as he went to view the seat of his campe; which last enterprise undoubtedly he would have executed. For the Dukes manner was when he alighted from his horse at the place where he encamped, to disarm himselfe all saving his quirace, and to mount upon a little nagge, accompanied onely with eight or ten archers on foot, or sometime two or three gentlemen of his chamber; in the which estate he used to ride about his campe, to see if it were well inclosed: so that the said Earle might with ten horses easily have executed his enterprise. But the King detesting the continuall treasons against his Master, especially this last being attempted in time of truce; and further not knowing throughly to what purpose he made these offers: determined of a noble courage to discover them to the Duke of Burgundy; and accordingly advertised him at large of them all by the Lord of Contay (so often before named) my selfe being present when he declared them to the said Contay, who I am sure like a faithfull servant revealed

CHAPTER VI

Of the Earle
of Campo-
baches great
treasons.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VI

Of the Earle
of Campo-
baches great
treasons.

them to his Master. But the Duke taking all in evill part, said that if it were so, the King would never have advertised him thereof. This was long afore he laid his siege before Nancy; yet thinke I that he never spake word thereof to the said Earle: for he loved him ever after rather better than woorse.

CHAPTER VII

How the Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with good force of Almaines, came to the towne of Saint Nicholas during the siege of Nancy, and how the King of Portugale who was in Fraunce, came to see the Duke of Burgundy during the said siege.



LET us now returne to our principall matter, I meane the siege the Duke held before Nancy, which he began in the midst of winter with small force, evill armed, evill paide, and the most part sicke. The mightiest in his campe practised against him as you have heard, and generally they murmured all, and despised all his doings, as in adversitie commonly it happeneth: but none attempted ought against his person or estate, save this Earle of Campobache onely; for in his subjects no disloialtie was found. While he lay there in this poore estate, the Duke of Lorraine treated with the confederated townes before named, to levie men in their territories to fight with the Duke of Burgundie lying before Nancy, whereunto all the townes easily agreed, but the Duke of Lorraine lacked money: wherefore the King sent ambassadors to the Swissers in his favor, and lent him also 40000 franks towards the paiment of his Almaines. Further, the Lord of Cran who was then the

PHILIP DE COMMINES

Kings lieuutenant in Champagne, lay in Barrois with seaven or eight hundred launces and certaine franke archers led by very expert captaines. The Duke of Lorraine by meanes of the Kings favor and money, drew unto his service great force of Almains as well horsemen as footemen, besides the which the townes also furnished a great number at their owne charge. Moreover, with the said Duke were many gentlemen of this realme, and the Kings armie as I said before lay in Barrois, which made no war, but waited to see to whether part the victorie would incline. The Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with these Almains above mentioned, came and lodged at St. Nicholas two leagues from Nancy.

The King of Portugale had beene in this realme at that present the space of nine moneths: for the King our Master was entred into league with him against the King of Spaine that now is. Whereupon the said King of Portugale came into Fraunce, hoping that the King would lend him a great armie to invade Castile by the frontires of Biscay or Navarre. For the said King of Portugale held certaine places in Castile bordering upon Portugale, and certaine also upon the confines of Fraunce; namely, the castell of Bourgues, and divers others: so that if the King had aided him as once he was purposed, it is like his enterprise had taken effect: but the King altered his minde, and foded him forth with faire words the space of a yeer or more. During the which time his affaires in Castile daily impaired: for at his comming into France all the nobles in maner of the realme of Castile tooke part with him, but bicause of his long absence, by little and little they altered their minds, and made peace with King Ferrande and Queene Isabell now raigning. The King our Master excused his not aiding him according to his promise by the wars in Lorraine, alleaging that he feared that the Duke of Burgundie (if he recovered his losses) would forthwith invade him. This poore King of Portugale being a good and a just Prince,* resolved to go to the Duke of Burgundie his cosin german† to treat of peace betweene

CHAPTER VII

How the Duke of Lorraine came to the towne of Saint Nicholas during the siege of Nancy, and how the King of Portugale came to see the Duke of Burgundy.

* He meaneth a simple Prince of wit.

† How the King of Portugale and the Duke of Burgundie were cosin germans, the Pedegree in the end of the worke will declare.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VII

How the Duke of Lorraine came to the towne of Saint Nicholas during the siege of Nancy, and how the King of Portugale came to see the Duke of Burgundy.

the King and him, to the end that then the King might aide him: for he was ashamed to returne into Castile or Portugale in this estate having done no good heere in Fraunce; and the rather bicause he had taken his journey upon him very rashly, and contrarie to the advise of the most of his counsell. Wherefore he put himselfe upon the way in the midst of winter to go to the Duke of Burgundie his cosin lying before Nancy: where at his arrivall he began to treat with him according to the Kings instructions. But perceiving it an impossibilitie to agree them bicause their demands were contrarie in all points; after he had remained there two daies he tooke his leave of the Duke of Burgundie his cosin, and returned to Paris from whence he came. The Duke desired him to staie a while, and to go to Pont-à-musson fower leagues from Nancy to defend that passage: for the Duke was already advertised that the Almaines army lay at Saint Nicholas. But the King of Portugale excused himselfe, saying: that he was neither armed nor accompanied for such an enterprise; and so returned to Paris, where he remained a long time, till in the ende he entered into jelousie, that the King meant to take him prisoner and deliver him to his enimie the King of Castile. Whereupon he and two of his servants disguised themselves, purposing to go to Rome there to enter into religion. But as he journeied in this disguised attire, he was taken by a Norman called Robinet le Beuf. Of this his departure the King our Master was both sorie and ashamed: and thereupon armed divers ships upon the coast of Normandie to convey him into Portugale; of the which fleet George Leger was appointed Admirall.

The occasion of his war upon the King of Castile was for his sisters daughter. For you shall understand that his sister had been wife to Don Henry King of Castile that last died; and had issue a goodly daughter which liveth yet in Portugale unmarried. This daughter Queene Isabell sister to the said King Henry,* held from the crowne of Castile, saying that she was illegitimate; of the which opinion were also many others, alleaging that King Henry was impotent to

* The Pedegree in the ende of the worke will make this plaine.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

generation, for a certaine impediment that I overpasse. But whether it were so or no; notwithstanding that the said daughter were borne under the vail of mariage: yet remained the crowne of Castile to Queene Isabell and hir husband the King of Arragon and Sicilie* now raigning.

The King of Portugall above mentioned, labored to make a mariage betweene the said daughter his neece and King Charles the eight now raigning, which was the cause of this his voiage into Fraunce, that turned so greatly to his damage and greefe. For soone after his returne into Portugale he died. Wherefore (as I said in the beginning of this historie) a Prince ought to beware what ambassadors he sendeth into a strange countrey. For if they had beene wise that came from the King of Portugale into Fraunce to conclude the league above mentioned, (whereat my selfe was present, as one in commission for the King) they would have informed themselves better of our affaires in these parts before they had counselled their Master to enter into this voiage, which turned so much to his losse and damage.

* Before he calleth Rene King of Sicilie, but King Rene had but the title not the possession.

CHAPTER VII

How the Duke of Lorraine came to the towne of Saint Nicholas during the siege of Nancy, and how the King of Portugale came to see the Duke of Burgundy.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How the Duke of Burgundie refusing the good
counsell of divers of his men, was discomfited
and slaine in the battell fought betweene
him and the Duke of Lorraine,
neere to Nancy.



WOULD have passed over this discourse of the King of Portugale, had it not been to shew that a Prince ought to beware how he put himselfe into another Princes hands, or goe in person to demand aide. But now to returne to the principall matter. Within a day after the King of Portugales departure from the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Lorraine and the Almaines that served him, dislodged from Saint Nicholas, and marched to fight with the said Duke; and the selfe same day the Earle of Campobache to accomplish his enterprise departed from the Dukes campe,* and revolted to his enimies with eight score men of armes, sorowing onely that he could do his Master no more harme. They within Nancy had intelligence of this Earles practises, which encouraged them to endure the siege. Further, one that leaped downe the ditches entered the towne and assured them of succors, otherwise they were upon the point to have yellected it. And to say the truth had it not been for the said Earles treasons, they could never have held it so long; but God was fully determined to bring the Duke to his end.

* He departed upon Wensday with 180. Meyer saith almost 200 men of armes, that is 800 horse, and on Saturday departed the Lordes of Dauge or Augy as Meyer nameth him, and Montfort with 120 men of armes, that is 480 horse, and upon Sunday was the battell.—*Annal. Aquit.*, Meyer, *Annal Burgund.*

PHILIP DE COMMINES

The Duke of Burgundy being advertised of the Duke of Lorrains arrivall, assembled his counsell contrary to his accustomed maner; for he was never wont to aske any mans advise, but in all matters to follow his own sense. Most of them counselled him to retire to Pont-à-musson, being but fower leagues thence, and to man the places well which he held about Nancy, alleaging that the Almaines would depart so soone as they had victualed the towne, and the Duke of Lorrains mony faile him; so that he should not be able in long time to assemble the like force. They said further, that his enimies could not victuall the towne so well, but that before winter were halfe expired it should be in as great distresse as at that present, and in the meane time, he might levy men: for I have been informed by those that perfectly understood it, that he had not in all his armie above fower thousand soldiers, of the which hardly twelve hundred were able to fight. Money he lacked not, for in the castell of Luxembourg being not far thence, were at the least 450000 crownes, and men ynough he might have recovered. But God would not give him grace to follow this wise advise, nor perceive how many enimies lodged round about him on every side: so that he tooke the woorst course, and by the advise of certaine harebrained fooles determined to hazard the battell with these few terrified and hartlesse men; notwithstanding all the reasons alleaged to him, both of the great force of Almaines the Duke of Lorraine had, and also of the Kings armie that lay hard by his campe. When the Earle of Campobache was come to the Duke of Lorraine, the Almaines commanded him to depart, saying, that they would have no traytor among them. Wherefore he retired to Condé a castell and passage neere at hand,* which he fortified with carts and other provisions the best he could, trusting that when the Duke of Burgundy and his men fled, some of them would fall into his hands, as indeede a great many did. But this practise with the Duke of Lorraine was not his greatest treason; for a little before his departure he conspired with divers in

CHAPTER VIII

How the Duke of Burgundie was discomfited and slaine in the battell fought betweene him and the Duke of Lorraine.

* The castell of Conde was the passage upon the bridge of the river of Moselle.—Meyer.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER VIII

How the Duke of Burgundie was discomfited and slaine in the battell fought betweene him and the Duke of Lorraine.

the Dukes army, resolving with them (bicause he sawe no hope of killing or taking his Master prisoner) to revolt to the enimies at the very instant that the two battells should joine; but sooner not to depart, to the end their sodaine revolt might the more astonish and terrify the Dukes whole army. Further, he promised assuredly, if the Duke fled that he should never escape alive; for he would leave thirteene or fowerteene trusty fellows behinde him, some to begin to flie at the very instant that the Almaines should march: and other some to have an eie on the Duke to kill him if he fled, which enterprise he made full account to execute, and two or three I knew afterwards my selfe of those that were left behinde for that purpose. After he had conspired these abhominable treasons, he returned againe to the Dukes campe, and then revolted from him (as you have heard) when he saw the Almaines march, of whom being refused, he retired as I said before to this castell of Conde. The said Almaines marched forward, being accompanied with great force of French horse men that had leave given them to be at the battell. Divers also there were that lay in ambushes neere to the place, to the end if the D. were discomfited they might get som good prisoner or booty. Thus you see the miserable estate this poore Duke of Burgundy was fallen into, by refusing good advise. When the two armies joined, the Dukes having beene already twice discomfited, and being but small and in very evill order, was incontinent broken and put to flight; a great number escaped, the rest were either slaine* or taken, and namely the Duke himselfe died upon the place. Of the maner of his death,† I will not speake bicause I was not there present: but I have communed

* The Duke lost in the battell of Nancy 3000 men.—*Annal. Burgund.*

† He had three wounds, one with a halberd in the side of his head, which clave his head downe to the teeth, another with a pike through the haunches, and the third a push also with a pike by the fundament,—*Annal. Burg.* He was borne the 11 of November 1433, and was 34 yeeres old when he began to governe: he lived 43 yeeres, one moneth, and 26 daies: and governed nine yeeres, sixe monethes, and twentie daies.—Meyer.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

with some that were there, who told me that they saw him stricken to the ground, and could not succor him because they were prisoners. Notwithstanding to their judgement he was not then slaine, but after these came a great troupe which slew him in the midst of them, stripped him, and left him among the dead bodies, not knowing who he was.* This battell† was fought the fift of Ianuary,‡ 1476,§ upon Twelfth even.

CHAPTER VIII

How the
Duke of Bur-
gundie was
discomfited
and slaine, etc.

* The name of him that slue Duke Charles was Claude of Bausmont, capitaine of the castell of Saint Dier in Lorraine. The Duke was mounted upon a blacke courser, and seeing his battells overthrown, tooke a little river supposing to have saved himselfe, but in the river his horse fell and overthrew him: and then this gentleman not knowing him, and by reason he was deafe not hearing the Duke, who cried to him for the saftie of his life, ran upon him, slue him, stripped him, and left him lying starke naked in the ditch. Where the next day after the battell, his body was found so fast frozen in the ice, that when it was drawn forth a peece of his cheeke tarried there behinde. The Duke of Lorraine to his great honor solemnly buried him, himselfe and all his nobles accompanying the corps in mourning attire. The place where the Duke was slaine was hard by S. Iohns Church without Nancy, where the Duke of Lorraine erected a crosse for a memoriall thereof. The gentleman that slue him died soone after of melancholie, when he understood that he had slaine so woorthie and couragious a Prince.—Champier, *Annales Burgund.*

† The battell at Nancy Meyer nameth the battell of Iarvilla.

‡ Being Sunday, and as others write ann. 1477; but the variance both in this place and divers others betweene Commynes and them is, because they end the yeere at New yeeres tide after the Italian and Dutch Computation, and he not before Easter, according to the French and Flemish accoumt, as by the course of his historie is most plaine.

§ 1477, beginning the yeere at Newe yeeres tide.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

A discourse upon certaine vertues of the Duke of Burgundie, and of the time his house flourished in prosperitie.



SAW at Milan since his death a signet that I have often seene him weare at his brest, which was a ring set with a camée, having very curiously cut into it an iron to strike fire,* wherein his armes were graven. This ring was sold at Milan for two ducats, and he that stole it from him was a false knave, that had beene a groome of his chamber. Many a time have I seene him made ready and unready with great reverence and solemnitie, and that by great personages. But now when death came, all these honors fled away, and both he and his house were destroyed as you have heard, in the selfesame place where a little before he had consented for covetousnes to deliver the Constable to death. I had knowen him in times past a mightie and honorable Prince; as much yea more esteemed and sought to of his neighbours, then any Prince in Christendome. Further, in mine opinion the greatest cause of Gods indignation against him, was for that he attributed all his good successe, and all the great victories he obtained in this world, to his owne wisdom and vertue; and not to God, as he ought to have done. And undoubtedly he was endued

* Of the devise of the Fuzill read the *Chronicles of Flanders*, pag. 345. Claude Paradin in his *Devises heroïques*, pag. 46, and *Annal. Burgund.* lib. 3. pag. 711, who saith that he gave the striking iron, because it is made in the form of B, which is the first letter of Burgundy. Further he giveth the said iron striking against the stone with infinite sparkles flying from them, to signifie that the cruel wars betweene the D. of Burgundy and the realm of France had set all their neighbours on fire.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

with many goodly vertues: for never was Prince more desirous to entertain enoble men, and keepe them in good order than he. His liberalitie seemed not great,* because he made all men partakers thereof. Never Prince gave audience more willingly to his servants and subjects than he.† While I served him he was not cruell, but grew marvellous cruell towards his end: which was a signe of short life. In his apparell and all other kinde of furniture he was woonderfull pompous, yea somewhat too excessive. He received very honorably all ambassadors and strangers, feasting them sumptuously, and entertaining them with great solemnitie. Covetous he was of glorie, which was the chiefe cause that made him moove so many wars: for he desired to imitate those ancient Princes, whose fame continueth till this present. Lastly, hardy he was and valiant, as any man that lived in his time: but all his great enterprises and attempts ended with himselfe, and turned to his owne losse and dishonor; for the honor goeth ever with the victorie. Yet to say the truth, I wot not well whether God powred out greater indignation upon him, or upon his subjects: for he died in battel without any long grieffe; but they sithence his death never lived in peace, but in continual war; against the which they have not been able to make resistance, because of their owne civill troubles and divisions. Yea and another thing that most grieveth them is, that they that now defend them are strangers, who not long since were their enemies, namely the Almaines. To conclude, since the Dukes death never man bare them good wil, no not they that defend them. Further, if a man consider well their actions, it seemeth that their wits were as much troubled, as their Princes before his death: for they despised all good counsell, and sought all meanes to hurt themselves. In the which vale of miserie they are stil like

CHAPTER IX

A discourse
upon certaine
vertues of the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
of the time
his house
flourished in
prosperitie.

* His meaning is that because he bestoweth upon every man, he could not bestow much upon any one, whereby his liberality was the lesse apparant.

† He meaneth in hearing their sute; for as touching matters of counsel he hath said before in divers places that he would never use any mans advise.

THE FIFT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER IX

A discourse
upon certaine
vertues of the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
of the time
his house
flourished in
prosperitie.

to continue ; or if happily they wade out of it for a season, like they are to fall into it again.

Wherefore I am of a certaine wise mans opinion of my acquaintance, that God giveth to subjects Princes, according as he wil punish or chastice them ; and likewise towards the Prince disposeth the subjects harts, according as he will aduance or abase him : and even so dealt he with the subjects of this house of Burgundie. For after three great, good and sage Princes, who governed them the space of 120 yeeres or more, with great wisdom and vertue, he gave them in the end this D. Charles, who held them in continuall wars, travell and charges, almost as much in winter as sommer : so that a great number of rich wealthy men were either slaine in these wars, or starved in prison. Their great miseries began before Nuz, and continued with the losse of three of fower battels, till the hower of the Dukes death ; who in this last battell wasted and consumed the whole force of his countrie, and lost all his servants that could or would have defended the estate and honor of his house. It seemeth therefore (as before I said) that this adversitie hath countervailed all the time of their felicitie. For as I say, that I have seene him a great, mightie and honorable Prince : so may I say also of his subjects : for I have travelled the best part of Europe in mine opinion, yet saw I never countrey in my life of the like greatnes, no nor far greater, abound with such wealth, riches, sumptuous buildings, large expences, feasts, bankets and all kinde of prodigalitie, as these countries of Burgundy did, during the time that I was resident there. And if those that knew them not during the time that I speake of, thinke my report too large : I am sure others that knew them then as well as my selfe, will thinke it too little. But God with one blow hath laid flat on the ground this sumptuous building, I meane this mightie house that bred and maintained so many woorthy men ; that was so greatly esteemed both far and neere, and obtained greater victories, and lived in greater honor during the time it flourished than any another : which great felicitie and grace of God towards them continued the space of a hundred and twentie yeeres. During

PHILIP DE COMMINES

the which time all their neighbours suffered great afflictions, namely, Fraunce, England and Spaine, so far forth that all these at one time or other have come to crave helpe and succor of this house of Burgundy, as you have seene by experience, of the King our Master, who in his youth while his father King Charles the seventh raigned, lived in Burgundy the space of sixe yeeres, with good Duke Philip, who lovingly received him. As touching the Princes of England, I have seene in the Duke of Burgundies court King Edwards two brethren the Dukes of Clarence, and Glocester who afterward named himselfe King Richard the third: and on the contrarie side of the house of Lancaster that tooke part with King Henry, I have seene in manner all the noble men suing to this house of Burgundy for aide. To be short, as I have knowen this house honored of all men: so have I also seene it at one instant fall downe topsie turvy, and become the most desolate and miserable house in the world, both in respect of the Prince and also of the subjects. Such like works hath God brought to passe before we were borne, and will also when we are dead. For this we ought certainly to beleeve, that the good or evill successe of Princes dependeth wholly upon his divine ordinance.

CHAPTER IX

A discourse
upon certaine
vertues of the
Duke of Bur-
gundie, and
of the time
his house
flourished in
prosperitie.



EDINBURGH
T. & A. CONSTABLE
Printers to Her Majesty

1897

093330069



SEP 07 1991



